



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Chap. DA508

Shelf .C5C7

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS

COMPARED WITH THE

CHARACTER AND WRITINGS

OF

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

"None but himself can be his parallel."

BY

WILLIAM CRAMP,

AUTHOR OF "THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE."

LONDON:

HOPE AND Co.,

16, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1850.



DA502
C5C7

PREFACE.

THE object of this first Essay is to endeavour to remove some objections which have hitherto excluded Lord Chesterfield from his fair claim to the authorship of the letters of Junius. Mr. Wade, the editor of a recent edition of the letters, in his second volume, p. xxviii., remarks that

“ One of the *wildest conjectures* has been the ascription of the letters to Lord Chesterfield.”

In support of his opinion Mr. Wade urges the impossibility of the truth of such a conjecture, on the grounds of the extreme old age and physical maladies of Lord Chesterfield, and he concludes his short notice by asserting, on the *authority* of Debrett's Peerage, that “ The *old Earl* died when Junius was in his full career.”

As this error in Debrett's Peerage has been already pointed out (pp. 75—113), it will not be necessary to dwell on it here, but merely to *repeat* that Lord Chesterfield died on the 24th March, 1773, *the month* that Junius so *mysteriously* disappeared. It is extraordinary, however, that both Mr. Wade and Mr. Coventry, who profess to have examined the claims of Lord Chesterfield, should refer to the *authority* of Debrett's Peerage when so important a fact might have been *ascertained* by having recourse to the periodicals of the day, or to the memoirs of Lord Chesterfield.

The description of Lord Chesterfield's mental and physical infirmities, and the assertion that his lordship had sunk into the *lowest abyss of misery* at the time that Junius was *in his full career*, should be cautiously received.

That Lord Chesterfield's mental faculties were *not* greatly impaired at the time the letters of Junius were written, has been proved by the evidence of his contemporaries, who, in almost every instance, flatly contradict the deplorable accounts which his lordship at times thought proper to send to his friends. In a letter dated 24th October, 1771, Voltaire writes:—

“ May you enjoy an honourable and a happy old age after passing through the trials of life! May you *continue* to enjoy health both of body and mind! Of the *five* senses allotted to us only *one* of yours has suffered *any decay*, and Lord Huntingdon assures me that your stomach is good, which is more valuable than a pair of ears.”

Yet at the time this pleasing account of Lord Chesterfield's health was sent to England, his lordship declared, in writing to the Bishop of Waterford, “that his hand trembled to that degree that he could hardly hold his pen—that his understanding stuttered and his memory fumbled.” It is highly probable, therefore, that the *exact state* of Lord Chesterfield's health in 1771 was better known at Ferney than either here or in Ireland, since the favourable report of Lord Huntingdon can hardly be doubted, for no one was on more intimate terms with Lord Chesterfield than that young nobleman.

That Lord Chesterfield had reason to believe that he was suspected of employing himself in supporting some of the political factions of that period is *all but admitted* in a letter to Mrs. Stanhope, Nov. 4, 1770:—“ My friends from time to time require *bills of health* from me in these *suspicious* times when the plague is busy in some parts of Europe. All I can say in answer to their kind enquiries is, that I have not the distemper properly called the plague, but that I have all the plagues of *old age* and of a *shattered carcase*.”

This letter was written during the longest interval in the correspondence between Junius and Woodfall. Only *one* letter under the signature of Junius appeared in the *Public*

Advertiser from the 28th May to the 14th Nov., 1770, and there is a break in the private letters for a period of *seven months*. It is highly probable that there had been some misunderstanding between the writer and his publisher; for the first letter (on the renewal of their correspondence) is *abrupt*, and indicative of the *displeasure* of Junius

“By your affected silence you encourage an idle opinion, that I am the author of the *Whig*, &c., though you very well know the contrary, I neither admire the writer nor his idol [Lord Chatham]. I hope you will soon set this matter right.—C.”

It would be in vain, perhaps, now to inquire into the cause of this disagreement, or whether any angry letters passed, at that time, between Woodfall and Junius, and have for *that reason* been suppressed.

As there is not a page, nay scarcely a paragraph, in the letters of Junius that does not bear some imprint of the mind and character of Lord Chesterfield, it is not to be wondered at that he should have occasionally been suspected by his acquaintance, and he must indeed have found some difficulty in keeping alive the *impression* that he was *hors de combat* as a political writer. Without some subterfuge like this (implying a *physical impossibility*), we do not see how Junius (whoever he was) could have so long preserved his secret, or have found leisure for the composition of his letters. The plea of ill health, no doubt, protected the writer against many impertinent intrusions. An instance of this kind occurred to Lord Chesterfield while Junius was engaged in writing his letters.

M. Suard, an accomplished Frenchman, being on a visit in England, in 1769, was presented to Lord Chesterfield, by his lordship's physician, Dr. Maty. The visit was abridged lest its continuance should fatigue Lord Chesterfield:—"I will not detain you," said his lordship, "I must go and perform the rehearsal of my funeral," alluding to the drive he took *every morning* in the streets of London."

Who that witnessed this melancholy procession in the morning, could suspect that during the rest of the day Lord Chesterfield was occupied in writing the letters of Junius? The conjecture, if for a moment entertained, would appear so incredible, as to check further inquiry, for few would believe that a *décrepid, worn out, old man*, thus ostentatiously exhibiting his infirmities to the world, could be Junius, and by this and other similar stratagems, Lord Chesterfield probably secured himself against discovery.

Although Lord Chesterfield made such a display of his funeral *before* his death, and *while the letters of Junius were in the course of publication*, yet he would have no posthumous follies at his burial. By his WILL, dated 4th June, 1772, he limited the whole expense of his funeral to £100, and desired to be buried in the next burying place where he should happen to die. In compliance with this injunction, his remains were interred, *without any pomp*, in the vault of the chapel in South Audley Street, but they were afterwards removed to the family burial place in Shelford Church, Nottinghamshire.

An important instance, shewing how tenaciously Lord Chesterfield adhered to his ruling passion for political intrigue, *even after the letters of Junius had ceased*, may be gleaned from Voltaire's answer to a letter from his lordship, *written in 1772*. The reproof contained in the opening of Voltaire's letter leaves but little doubt that the subject of Lord Chesterfield's communication was of a *political* character.

"You desire to have my thoughts on the present state of Europe, I rather now expected you would have asked my opinion about other matters which I happened to be thinking of when your last letter was brought me by Mr. S——." (See *Annual Register*, 1773, p. 217).

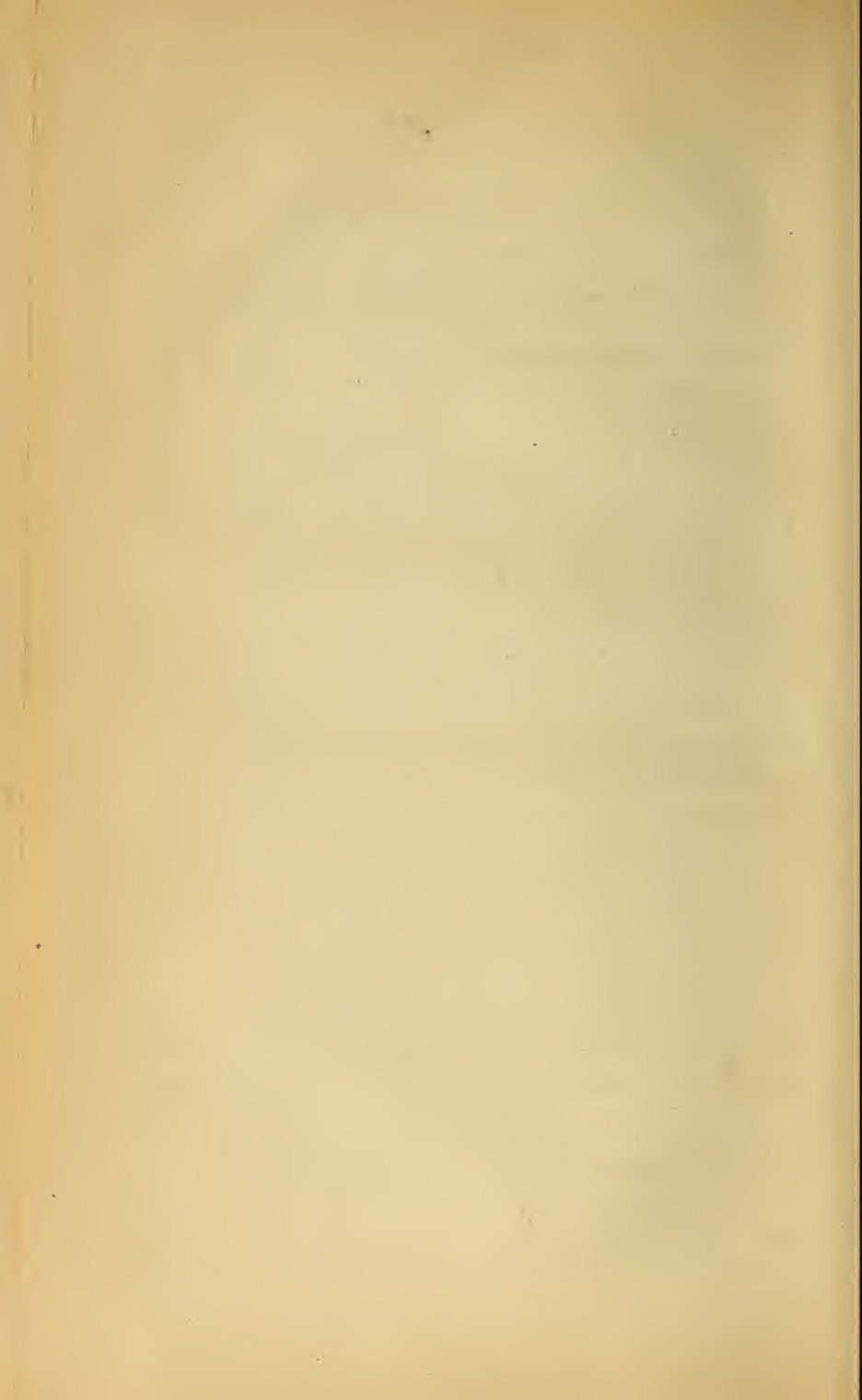
To assert that Junius was in his *full career* at the time Lord Chesterfield was on his death bed, is not borne out by evidence.

Junius may be said to have been in his full career in 1769. For after his celebrated letter to the King his powers declined.

Even his contemporaries perceived the change, and his private letters afford melancholy proofs that he was “overcome with the slavery of writing.” He had satiated his vengeance on the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Bradshaw, and would gladly have retired.

If the facts contained in this *Preliminary* Essay should produce the favourable impression which the writer anticipates, the subject will be resumed by a review of the letters of Junius, taken in the order in which they appeared in the *Public Advertiser*.

In carrying out this plan, the next Essay will contain the Episodes of JUNIUS against LORD CHATHAM—SIR JAMES LOWTHER—and LORD HILLSBOROUGH, with critical remarks on the letters signed ATTICUS, and a review of other miscellaneous letters published *before* the writer had assumed the character of Junius.



JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS,
COMPARED WITH THE
CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF
LORD CHESTERFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

A very great degree of probability supported by various concurrent circumstances conspiring in one point, will have much greater weight with me than human testimony upon oath, or even upon honour.—CHESTERFIELD.

THE inquiry as to the authorship of the letters of Junius has lately been revived by Mr. Britton, whose name in the literary world will attract attention, although a more improbable hypothesis could scarcely have been imagined than that Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barrè, and the Attorney-General Dunning were the junto engaged during five years in the composition of the letters of Junius.

There is, however, one part of Mr. Britton's inquiry that deserves attention, since it carries back the history of Junius to a period that will exclude many of the pretenders from the praise or blame of having written these brilliant epistles. Mr. Britton seems *convinced* that a letter published in 1760, addressed to "An Honourable Brigadier General," was from the pen of Junius.

"In the language, style, and sentiments of the anonymous letter to General Townshend," says Mr. Britton, "there is a most remarkable and extraordinary coincidence with the Letters of Junius. So striking, indeed, is the resemblance not only in particular phrases and expressions and in isolated passages, but in the style, diction, energy, spirit, and character of the entire composition, that there

can scarcely be a doubt the writer was the author, not only of the letters which from 1767 to 1769 appeared in the *Public Advertiser* under the signatures of Atticus, Lucius, Brutus, Poplicola, &c., but also of the unparalleled effusions which were published in the same journal from 1769 to 1772 with the memorable signature of Junius.

“This resemblance was pointed out in 1817 by a person who had only read some extracts from the “Letter to a Brigadier General” which had appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*. Under the name of Phil-Urbanus, he expressed his strong opinion in the same periodical that if the author of the Letter to a Brigadier General should be known, it would be no difficult task to set at rest the inquiry after the author of the letters of Junius. The hint thus given does not appear to have been followed up, but in 1840 the pamphlet now referred to happened to come under the notice of Mr. N. W. Simons, of the Library of the British Museum. Not knowing that Phil-Urbanus had taken the same view three and twenty years before, Mr. Simons, on reading this obscure and forgotten work, was immediately and forcibly impressed with its analogy in style to the letters of Junius, and its consequent importance as affording a possible clue to the discovery of their author. That gentleman was himself well qualified by previous study of the writings of Junius, to form an opinion on this subject; and that opinion being confirmed by several friends of literary eminence he was induced, in the year 1841, to reprint the “Letter,” as well as the “Refutation” of it, appending to them some valuable original remarks, tending, firstly, to prove that the “Letter” was really from the pen of Junius, and, secondly, to refute the opinion that Sir Philip Francis was the author of the letters with that signature.

“In addition to Mr. Simons and Phil-Urbanus, it is stated by another writer in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* (July, 1843), that an individual then recently deceased, who had only seen the extracts from the pamphlet of 1760, had not only come to the same conclusion of its identity of authorship with the letters of Junius, but, previously to the illness which terminated his life, was preparing for the press a statement of his opinion. Thus three several parties, entirely unconnected with each other, after reading either the whole Letter or extracts from it, had arrived at the conviction that it was an early production of the great and unknown

English political satirist, and Mr. Simon's reprint has since induced many other persons to adopt the same opinion."

Now, if it be generally admitted that the "Letter to an Honourable Brigadier General" was written by Junius, and it should be found that the proofs of authorship are in every particular applicable to Lord Chesterfield, the evidence obtained from so unbiassed a source cannot fail, on the outset of this inquiry, to make a strong impression.

But, before we enter upon the subject of this letter, we would remove an unfavourable impression that has, perhaps, prejudiced many against listening to the supposition that Lord Chesterfield could sustain the character of Junius. In the enumeration of the forthcoming attempts to elucidate this interesting question, Mr. Britton has referred to "An Essay preparing by a gentleman in Sussex, intended to show that the *polite* Earl of Chesterfield was the author of the letters."

If the epithet here given to Lord Chesterfield be meant to expose the *absurdity* of such an hypothesis, the writer should have recollected that the most *distinguished* trait in the character of the stern patriot was his *extreme politeness*. On no point did Junius appear to be more sensible to reproof than on those occasions when, in his indignation, he for a moment forgot the *suaviter in modo* which so peculiarly pervades his bitterest invectives.* Scarcely had he attracted the attention of the public when he acquired, even from his adversaries, the epithets *elegant*, *accomplished*, and *polite*. His good breeding seldom forsook him. When called a liar and a scoundrel, he replied in the most courteous language, and by lively sarcasm or polished reproof brought disgrace upon his opponents. The lessons which Junius gave to Sir William Draper on good breeding, afford strong proofs of the polished manners and self control of the writer.

"Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and far from resenting those terms of reproach which, considering that you are an advocate for *decorum*, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the

* In these altercations nothing can be more useful than to preserve dignity and *sang froid*. *Fortiter in re suaviter in modo* increases both the force and the severity.—*Junius to Wilkes*.

This maxim is inculcated throughout the letters of Lord Chesterfield to his son.—*See more particularly letter 213*.

account of an honest, unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment, and *natural politeness* had no concern. * *

The last charge of the neglect of the army, is, indeed, the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article your first fact is false; and, as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that in your future publications you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion."

Such was the language of Junius to the man who had called him a *liar* and a *wretch*.

The answer of Junius to another of his opponents is still more characteristic.

"The sophistry of your letter in defence of Lord Mansfield is adapted to the character you defend. But Lord Mansfield is a man of form, and seldom in his behaviour transgresses the rules of *decorum*.* I shall imitate his lordship's good manners, and leave you in full possession of his principles. I will not call you liar, Jesuit, or villian, but, with all the *politeness* imaginable, perhaps I may prove you so."

The abuse which Junius incurred by his defence of Sir Jeffrey Amherst is thus coolly replied to in the postscript to a letter under the signature Lucius.

"A friend of mine has taken the pains to collect a number of the epithets with which Lord Hillsborough has been pleased to honour me in the course of our correspondence. I shall lay them before the public in one view as a specimen of his lordship's urbanity and singular condescension.

1. Wretched scribbler.
2. Worthless fellow.
3. Vile incendiary.
4. False liar—in *opposition to a true one*.
5. Snarler.
6. Contemptible thing.
7. Abandoned tool of opposition and diabolical miscreant.
8. Impudent scurrilous wretch.

* Lord Chesterfield may be said to have brought this word into general use by his paper in the *World*, No. 189. Works, vol. ii., p. 299. It frequently occurs in the letters of Junius.

9. Rascal and scoundrel *passim*.
10. Barking cur, *by way of distinction from*
11. Barking animal, *cum multis aliis*.

"To all of which I shall only say, that his lordship's arguments are upon a level with his *politeness*."

Horne Tooke, affecting to be disgusted with the *refinement* of Junius, invidiously observed—"You make frequent use of the word *gentleman*. I only call myself a *man*, and desire no other distinction."

Even the patriot Wilkes gave singular proofs of the ascendancy which the highly cultivated mind of Junius had obtained over him. This idol of the people humbled himself to the dust before Junius, and was prepared to kneel to and worship "the unknown god of politics." Yet he, too, was impressed with an idea of the *personal accomplishments* of the writer.

"How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a *graceful* minuet with Junius Brutus, but Junius is inexorable, and I submit."*

The answer to this offer is well known. It carries with it in tone and feeling the regret of one who could no longer shine in public assemblies. "Many thanks," says Junius, "for your obliging offer; but, alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner. I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connection between Junius and a minuet."

As this letter was private, the writer can hardly be supposed to have intended to deceive Wilkes as to his age and infirmities. If Wilkes had not been impressed with the popular notion that Junius was one of the active politicians of the day, he might have gleaned from the peculiar turn of expression, and the delicate flattery of the man who had formerly abused him, that Lord Chesterfield alone possessed the art to persuade him to forget the injuries he had received from the pen of Junius.

This is the *fair* outline of the character of Junius, which, in portraits of the dead, is too commonly overlooked. Let us now turn to the darker lineaments by which Junius is generally recog-

* Wilkes, in the hope, probably, of discovering his correspondent, had offered Junius tickets for the Lord Mayor's ball.—See *Woodfall's Junius*, vol. 1, p. 325.

nised. In these features may also be traced a striking resemblance to Lord Chesterfield; the following unfavourable portrait of his lordship was drawn by a political opponent:—

“Lord Chesterfield was allowed by everybody to have more conversable entertaining table-wit than any man of his time. His propensity to ridicule, in which he indulged himself with infinite humour and no distinction, and with inexhaustible spirits and no discretion, made him sought and feared, liked and not loved by most of his acquaintance; no sex, no relation, no rank, no power, no profession, no friendship, no obligation, was a shield from those pointed, glittering weapons, that seemed to shine only to a stander-by, but cut deep in those they touched. All his acquaintance were indifferently the objects of his satire, and served promiscuously to feed his voracious appetite for abuse that made him fall on everything that came in his way, and treat every one of his companions in rotation at the expense of the rest.” * * * “He never considered what was true or false, but related everything in which he had no interest just as his imagination suggested it would tell best; and if by sinking, adding, or altering any circumstance, it served either the purpose of his interest, his vanity, or his enmity, he would dress it up in that fashion without any scruple, and oftentimes with as little probability; by which means as much as he piqued himself on being distinguished for his wit, he often gave people a greater opinion of the copiousness of his invention, and the futility of his imagination than he desired.” He was,” says this noble author, “abominably given to fable.”*

The style of Lord Chesterfield's compositions as described by Lord Hervey, forcibly reminds the reader of the prevailing characteristics of Junius's writings.

“Lord Chesterfield's memoirs† will have a great deal of wit in them, but you will see in every page he resolves to be witty; every

* Hervey's Memoirs, vol. 1, p. 95, 98.

† These Memoirs were either destroyed by Lord Chesterfield or have been withheld from the public. The Bishop of Waterford, his chaplain and friend, expressed his *surprise* that nothing should have been found among the late Earl's papers concerning the history of his own times. His Lordship, he says, repeated to him more than once that he was writing it as far as his memory, which was a good one, would furnish him with matter, and Lord S., whose mother was first cousin to Lord Chesterfield, assured the Bishop, as having it from Sir Wm. Stanhope, that one day upon his brother's showing him his manuscripts, he had told him that by his will he had left him the publication of them; and then added, “*publish them as soon as you dare.*”

paragraph will be an epigram. His style for short treatises is excellent; but in a long work all that labour and polishing he bestows on every thing he writes will appear stiff and tiresome. Correction will be wanting; and that want of transition which is so pardonable when it proceeds from haste or a little negligence in running quick from one subject to another, will have an abrupt air and a disagreeable broken effect in such a constrained, studied style, that it has not in writings of a looser and more natural sort."

Junius has, in one of his letters, styled himself Bifrons, and as a polished courtier and vindictive satirist, it must be owned he maintained with inimitable skill the duplicity of character which, by that signature, he had inadvertently assumed.

Having, it is hoped, removed any prejudice that might be entertained on the score of Lord Chesterfield's *frivolity* of character, we shall resume the subject of this Chapter, and lay before the reader the circumstances which tend to prove that his lordship was the writer of the letter to Brigadier General Townshend.

The first question that the reader will ask in order to satisfy himself that this Letter might have been written by Lord Chesterfield, will be,—what *motives* could induce his lordship to write such a letter?

To answer this inquiry it will be necessary to refer to his lordship's *connection* with the Court, and with the parties eulogised or condemned in the letter to Lord Townshend.

The parties eulogised, or presumed to be on friendly terms with the writer, are—

Prince Ferdinand,
The Earl of Albemarle,
General Wolfe,
The Marquis of Granby,
M. De Bourgainville.

The persons condemned are—

The King,
Lord Townshend,
Lord Geo. Sackville,
And the Scots.

With regard to the first of these parties, it may be observed that Prince Ferdinand was one of the few who had not slighted

Mr. Stanhope on the score of his illegitimacy. General Wolfe was emphatically styled the *friend* of Mr. Stanhope. The father of Lord Albemarle was the earliest patron of Mr. Stanhope, and till his death on terms of great intimacy with Lord Chesterfield.* As regards M. de Bourgainville, his name is only once introduced; but his friendship† for Lord Chesterfield will account for the accuracy of some of the facts detailed in the "Letter." The conduct of Junius some years later towards the Marquis of Granby will be considered in another part of this work. Thus it will be seen that *four*, at least, of the *five* heroes eulogised by the writer were either friends of Lord Chesterfield or of Mr. Stanhope, whose disappointed ambition is now supposed to have given rise to this extraordinary letter to Lord Townshend.

It would not be surprising if, after the lapse of more than three-quarters of a century, no *motive* could be assigned to Lord Chesterfield for undertaking this anonymous publication. Those who have endeavoured to obtain materials for a memoir of his lordship's life and times, have in every instance been obstructed in their research. His correspondence has been mutilated or destroyed; his most interesting lucubrations suppressed; and access has been denied to those records wherein his fame might have been established.‡ But as we have entered more fully into these *extraordinary proceedings* in another place, we shall confine ourselves to the proof that Lord Chesterfield had at this time sufficient cause to be dissatisfied with the parties stigmatised in the letter.

In the year 1759, Lord Chesterfield had obtained a promise that his son should have the honour of investing Prince Ferdinand with the Order of the Garter, intended to be conferred on His Serene Highness for his success at Minden.§ This promise Lord Chesterfield flattered himself he had *secured*, but his expec-

* The correspondence between Lord Albemarle and Lord Chesterfield has never been published.

† M. de Bourgainville was the gentleman through whose interest Lord Chesterfield was elected a member of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

‡ See Quarterly Review, vol. LXXVI., p. 461.

§ "You did well to think of Prince Ferdinand's riband, which I confess I did not, and I am glad to find you thinking so far before hand. It would be a pretty commission, and I will *accingere* me to procure it you."—*Letter to his son, Nov. 21st, 1758.*

"Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick is most certainly to have the Garter, and I have secured you the honour of putting it on. When I say secured, I mean

tations were disappointed either by some intrigue of parties, or by the obduracy of the King. Whether Lord Townshend and Lord Geo. Sackville were the persons who, by indirect means, through the machinations of the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute, thwarted the views of Lord Chesterfield, remains a secret. But the bare suing for this honour for Mr. Stanhope was sufficient to irritate Lord G. Sackville, and to induce him to counterwork the ambitious project of Lord Chesterfield. The conduct of the new Court to both parties, sometime after the publication of the anonymous Letter, strengthens the supposition that Lord George Sackville was the concealed enemy who deprived Mr. Stanhope of the honour he had so ardently coveted. The "Letter" was published in the *Summer*, 1760.* Geo. II. died on the 26th Oct. following, and the meeting between Lord Townshend and Lord Albemarle took place the second week of the new reign. An interval, therefore, of *two months* had elapsed before there was any stir respecting the "Letter," and the secret seems to have transpired at the critical moment when Lord Geo. Sackville was compelled to forego the honours designed him by Lord Bute and his Sovereign.

"Two days after his present Majesty's accession, the Earl of Bute was, with the King's eldest brother, introduced into the Privy Council. Scarce was the ink dry which had marked his name upon the Council Book when, although no minister himself, yet he assumed a magisterial air of authority and began to give law in the court, and to show not only with what contempt he meant to treat the memory and conduct of the deceased monarch, but his dislike of the measures which were then, and had for some time been pursued, and in order to affront the ministers and the allied army, he invited to Court, while the late King lay dead

it in the sense in which that word should always be understood at Courts, and that is insecurely; I have a promise, but that is not *caution bourgeoise*. In all events do not mention it to any *mortal*, because there is always a degree of ridicule that attends a disappointment, though often very unjustly if the expectation was reasonably grounded."—Dec. 15, 1758.

* Prince Ferdinand was installed on the 6th May, 1760. Lord Chesterfield was not among the Knights who attended on that occasion. His feelings as a father and his resentment against the Court may reasonably be supposed to have counterbalanced the respect due to Prince Ferdinand. The Prince was installed by *proxy*, which would remove any scruples Lord Chesterfield might have in absenting himself from the ceremony.

in his palace, the only unpopular man at that time in the kingdom, who, but a few months before, had been degraded from his rank for a disobedience of orders when in the service of his country. He was, indeed, admitted to kiss hands, but the true friends of the honour of the Crown, and those who laid the foundation of all that glory which the army had acquired, and of that spirit which might have given law to the world, remonstrated so firmly against it that he was forced to abscond and never presume again, during Mr. Pitt's administration, to show his face at St. James's."—*Hist. of the Minority*, p. 10.

The mortification that Lord Geo. Sackville was compelled to submit to through the influence of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, appears to have been retaliated on Lord Chesterfield on his *first* and *only* appearance at the Court of George the Third. An isolated letter from the correspondence of Lord Chesterfield to Dr. Dodd, affords strong evidence that his lordship had not been graciously received by the new Sovereign. The letter is dated July 19, 1766.

"Sir,—I will not begin this letter with the common-place expression of, 'I should be glad to serve you were I able,' which is much oftener a civil denial than a pledge of services really intended to be performed, but I hope you will give a juster and more favourable interpretation to the assurance of my good wishes for you, however unavailing. *As for any direct application from me to the King, it is utterly impossible.* I have made my court but once to him since he came to the Crown, and that was in the first week, since when I have never seen his face, and probably he has never heard my name. *Moreover, it would be wholly useless to you for reasons which I will tell you when I have the pleasure to see you next.* If you think that my writing to Lord Hertford in your behalf can be of any service to you (which I do not think it can), I shall very readily do it, and if the Duke of Newcastle should retain the ecclesiastical department I will apply to him, and not without some hopes of success, but further this deponent saith not, because further is not in his power."*

The Duke of Newcastle till within a twelvemonth of his death continued to interest himself in politics and to interfere with the

* See Preface to Letters by Lord Chesterfield to Arthur Charles Stanhope, Esq.

intrigues of parties. In 1767 he held meetings with the opposition members at his house at Clermont, and in town.* When he died, he appears to have bequeathed to Lord Chesterfield (who was his *junior* by a year) the spirit of opposition to the Duke of Grafton's administration, for there is reason to believe that about this time Lord Chesterfield was enlightened by his former colleague upon many of the mysteries and secrets of the two reigns, and that he had obtained from his Grace a knowledge of the parties who had for so many years obstructed the preferment of Mr. Stanhope. Such an acquaintance could not fail to be of great service to Junius in his earlier letters.

In corroboration that Lord Chesterfield did not meet with a very cordial reception at Court, we shall here introduce an anecdote recorded in Walpole's *Memoirs of Geo. III.*

"Sir William Stanhope, brother of Lord Chesterfield, a man of not less wit and of more ill nature than *his elder*, said he would not go to court for fear of the itch, which would make him go to the Princess's court for brimstone."

It is well known that a perfectly good understanding always existed between Lord Chesterfield and his brother, and that any affront to his lordship would not fail to be resented by Sir William Stanhope. Whether the discovery that Chesterfield was the author of this letter, or the disappointment that his lordship experienced on introducing his son at court, was the cause of the two brothers withdrawing their attendance is uncertain, but it is probable that the conduct of Geo. III. towards Mr. Stanhope gave the first offence.

In the autumn of 1759, Mr. Stanhope was preparing to leave Hamburgh for England, evidently with a view of obtaining preferment, the hope of which was probably held out to Lord Chesterfield by the ministers of Geo. II. as a compensation for the disappointment he had recently suffered in the affair of Prince Ferdinand. Lord Chesterfield thus counsels his son on this occasion:—

"Give *no mortal*,† either there or here, reason to think that you are not to return to Hamburgh again. If you are asked about

* Account of a Conference *Political Register*, vol. 1, p. 201.

† Change to the Somerset Coffee House and let *no mortal* know the alteration.—*Junius*, private letter, vol. 1, p. 231.

it say, like Lockhart, that you are *le serviteur des événemens*, for your present appointments will do you no hurt till you have some better destination."

It does not appear, however, that Lord Chesterfield's interest was sufficient to obtain the object intended by Mr. Stanhope's return to England in 1759. Nor did his son succeed in regaining any employment *until Mr. Grenville's administration in 1763*, when he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the Diet at Ratisbon. Even a seat in parliament was with difficulty obtained for him in 1761, and this he was induced to resign in 1764, and was never after allowed to have a seat in that assembly.

The Letter sets out with a most extraordinary confession, and in a style that at *first sight* does not appear consistent either with the character of Junius or of Lord Chesterfield.

"Sir,—In my religious doubts I apply to the divinity of Dr. Whitefield, in any theatrical difficulties I consult the canonical criticisms* of a certain Right Reverend, and in my polite misadventures the physician of Ludgate Hill is my *celer atque fidelis*, secret and speedy. To whom, therefore, shall I appeal in any military doubts but to the man whom *fortune*, that never erring judge of merit, in one short campaign made a soldier, a general, and a commander-in-chief?"

NOTE.—In the errata, for soldier we are directed to read colonel.

Few readers would suppose that any instance of gross indelicacy would escape from the pen of Lord Chesterfield, much less would one expect to find similar deviations from propriety in any writings attributed to Junius, for on every occasion *under that signature* Junius has evinced a scrupulous regard to *decorum*: but even in this particular the unknown writer betrayed himself. This will be seen by referring to the lines prefixed to Lord Northington's character (Woodfall's Junius, vol. II., p. 483), and the use to which certain papers were destined that were laid before the House of Peers by Lord Mansfield, vol. III., p. 290. For parallel passages in Lord Chesterfield's writings, the reader is

* This rough manner of treating a man of letters implies perhaps more zeal than knowledge, at least I never met with it among the canons of criticism.—*Chesterfield to Major Irvine.*

referred to the Suffolk Letters, vol. II, p. 117, and to his lordship's Miscellaneous works, vol. II, p. 127.

Instances of still greater indelicacy might be pointed out in the letters of Junius, and in the acknowledged productions of Lord Chesterfield, but with the examples before us the allusion to the Physician of Ludgate Hill will no longer appear inconsistent either with the character of Junius or of Lord Chesterfield.

The ironical confession of the writer's faith in the divinity of Dr. Whitefield is also characteristic* as well as the reflection on the Right Rev. Dr. Warburton for his *canonical criticisms*, but perhaps the most remarkable proof that Lord Chesterfield was the writer of this paragraph is to be found in the note containing the sarcasm that Lord Townshend was a colonel but no soldier.

In 1734, when a motion† was made relating to the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, the Duke of Argyle, who opposed the motion, observed "I am surprised to hear so much noise made about the removal of two lords from their commands in the army. It is true there have been two lords removed but only one soldier."

It is well known that Lord Chesterfield seconded this motion and spoke warmly in favour of his two friends. It was while opposing his lordship on this occasion that the Duke of Argyle made use of this sarcastic distinction, and there can be little doubt that it made a deep impression on the mind of Lord Chesterfield.‡ We

* We are told by Horace Walpole that Lord Chesterfield was *once* induced to attend the conventicle of Dr. Whitefield, and no doubt his lordship's reverence for that enthusiast was about as sincere as the occasional professions of his faith in the doctrines of the established church.

At a later period of Lord Chesterfield's life, and about the time that Junius so mysteriously disappeared, an attempt was made by the chief supporters of Whitefield to convert his lordship. The circumstance is related by Horace Walpole in a letter to Horace Mann, dated April 17, 1775. "Lady Gertrude Hotham (Lord Chesterfield's sister) had wit like all her brothers, but for many years had been a methodist. About *two years ago*, as the Earl was ill, she went with her primate, Lady Huntingdon, to try to tempt him to one of their seminaries in Wales, hoping to get at his soul by a cranny in his health. They extolled the prospects, and then there were such charming mountains. Hold, ladies, said he, I don't love mountains; when your ladyship's faith has removed the mountains, I will go thither with all my heart."

† Lord Carteret moved to address the King to know who advised the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments and what crimes were laid to their charge.

‡ It has, perhaps, hitherto escaped observation that Junius refers to this very debate in one of his letters on the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst. Guarded as his expressions are he admits that he was a contemporary of the heroes of

cannot, therefore, be surprised that after a lapse of twenty-six years his lordship should recal the circumstance and adopt this invidious distinction on this occasion.

In comparing this letter with the writings of Lord Chesterfield it will not be necessary to remark upon every similitude of phraseology in which the writer is found to agree with Junius. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to parallel passages from Junius and Lord Chesterfield, distinguishing such words or phrases in which they agree by italics. It is more important to trace the *motives* which could induce Lord Chesterfield to publish such a letter, and as almost every paragraph contains some proof that Lord Chesterfield was the author, it will be desirable to quote a greater part of the letter that the reader may have the means of judging of the truth of this supposition.

“The title under which I have the honour of addressing this letter to you, will not, I confess, immediately point you out to the eye of the public. It has been given by the compilers of the Court Calendar to Brigadier General Townshend, or not improbable that *sagacious* gentleman sent it to the press himself as an hint to the minister that such a command would be necessary for his Majesty’s service, although he might prudently choose to stay at home when he received it.”

There is no proof that Lord Chesterfield was ever on terms of *friendship* with Lord Townshend. The author of the refutation intimates that the writer of the letter had been caricatured by his lordship. This, as far as Lord Chesterfield is concerned, we have not been able to ascertain, but it is well known that Lord Chesterfield opposed Lord Townshend’s favourite scheme of the militia, and it is not, therefore, improbable that his lordship was the subject of one or more of the Townshend caricatures. His lordship’s most intimate friend, Lord Lyttleton, was a frequent subject of those satires. So far, therefore, it may be presumed Lord Chesterfield was prepared to retaliate should a favourable opportunity occur.

the great Walpolean battles, and older than his opponent Lord Hillsborough. “You set out with asserting that the Crown has an indisputable power of dismissing its officers without assigning a cause. Not quite indisputable, my lord, for *I have heard* of addresses from Parliament to know who advised the dismissal of particular officers. *I have heard* of impeachments attending a wanton exertion of the prerogative and you, perhaps, *may live to hear* of them likewise. —Vol. III, p. 140.

“However, if envy should peevishly object against this discernment of *fortune* in the choice of her favourites, let it be boldly answered that independent of *fortune** and her favours you have made the most distinguished honour of the present war in a peculiar manner your own. The Goddess of blindness and *caprice* had certainly no share in the capitulation of *Quebec*. Ardent in the pursuit of glory and the applause of your country you generously violated the rules of war and risked the resentment of your superior officer. You signed the articles of capitulation without his knowledge, and anxious for the preservation of your conquest, you appointed the staff of the garrison without even asking his consent. He might indeed, suspect the friendship you had long professed for him, but with the spirit of an old Roman the love of our country *omnes omnium caritates complectitur*. He might have ordered you into arrest for such an outrage to his authority. He was not insensible of the indignity, but you asked his pardon and languishing under his wounds he accepted your submission. Thus you carried your point—you received into your protection the capital of an empire larger than half the Roman conquests, and though you had formerly entered your protest against attacking the place, you alone enjoyed the honours of its being taken.”

The person here vindicated by the writer was highly esteemed by Lord Chesterfield. “The day after we had taken the island of Aix, your *friend*, Colonel Wolfe, publicly offered to do the business with five hundred men and three ships.”†

The next paragraph of the letter contains a sarcasm against religion, and will remind the reader of a conspicuous trait both in the character of Junius and of Lord Chesterfield. The passage is omitted by Mr. Britton in his quotation of the paragraph.

“Your appetite for glory being now fully satisfied, you descended from the heights of Abraham like Gideon—not the *Gideon who discomfited the host of Midian with the sound of his trumpets*—but like another illustrious of that name descending at the sign of his Majesty’s arms from a delicious feast of turtle.”

* I plainly see that all human prudence, the wisest projects, and the best concerted schemes are vain and frivolous if *fortune*, that *capricious*, inconstant, and feminine deity, is not disposed to favour them.—*Chesterfield*.

The greatest must submit to the *capriciousness of fortune*, though they can better than others improve the favourable moments.—*Ib*.

† Letter to his son, Nov. 4, 1757.

In the remaining part of this passage the writer again uses the word *sagacious*.* He also omits to give General Wolfe his title of rank in the army. This proves not only a long and intimate acquaintance with General Wolfe, but it also indicates that the writer *was not* a military man, or he would not even under circumstances of long friendship have twice failed in so important a point in the estimation of military men. It may also be inferred from this inadvertence that the writer was of much higher rank than General Wolfe.

But it has been observed that the "Letter," if not from the pen of a soldier, "was, at all events, written by a person well skilled in military affairs." As regards Lord Chesterfield, this shrewd observation may be said strictly to apply. For his lordship considered that every gentleman engaged in public affairs (except "lawyers and parsons," of whose understandings he had but a mean opinion),† ought to be well acquainted with military tactics. In accordance with these views, we find him recommending to his son his attending to the *minutiae* of military affairs. Few officers, perhaps, even of the highest rank in the army, were so well acquainted with the routine of their duties as Lord Chesterfield.

The next paragraph needs no comment. It refers to Lord Townshend's militia scheme, which Lord Chesterfield ridiculed and opposed. It also alludes to the conduct of Lord Townshend during the Rebellion in 1745. On both these points no person could be better qualified to mortify Lord Townshend than the Earl of Chesterfield.

"Although I have justly given you the sole honour of *your* capitulation of Quebec, independent of *fortune* and her influence, yet let us not totally disclaim her favour and protection. Among heroes of ancient days the favour of the gods was always esteemed a pious proof of *merit*."

"*Fortune*," says Lord Chesterfield,

"Born to be controlled
Stoops to the forward and the bold."

"Assurance and intrepidity, under the white banner of seeming modesty, clear the way to *merit*."

* This is one of those offensive epithets which Junius frequently employed to annoy his adversaries, and bring contempt upon their understandings.

† Lawyers and Parsons cannot be short.—*Chesterfield*.

"I know," continues the writer of the *letter*, "that our *ingenious moderns* have been reproached with plundering the shrines of antiquity, and ransacking the virtues of the dead, to erect a lying monument of fame to the living. I shall not be apprehensive of this reproach when I assert that the noblest praise ever given to Cæsar—that of writing with the same spirit with which he fought,—is equally due to you for the letter you wrote from Quebec to the Secretary of State.* Some malignant spirits, indeed, were offended at your not having paid one civil compliment to the memory of General Wolfe, or inserted one kind expression of esteem or affection with regard to his person. *Surely* some people are never to be satisfied. *Permit me*, sir, in your name, to ask them whether your warmest encomiums could have added to that universal good opinion which the public had conceived of *Mr. Wolfe's* abilities and courage."

This passage contains strong evidence that it came from the pen of Lord Chesterfield. As far as verbal peculiarities will convince, the following short sentence contains several that are to be found in the letter: "I cannot," says Lord Chesterfield, "like many of my contemporaries, rail at the wonderful degeneracy and corruption of these times, nor by *sneering* compliments to the *ingenious*, the *sagacious moderns*, intimate that they have no common sense."

The charge of plundering the shrines of antiquity bears a strong resemblance to a humorous petition published in the Annual Register, 1758, in juxta position with two other similar contributions,—one avowedly from the pen of Lord Chesterfield. Both the other papers, though inferior in composition, bear evident marks of his lordship's style of writing. The petition here referred to is addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, by whom, it is said, Lord Chesterfield was imposed upon in the purchase of the land on which the noble mansion of the family in May Fair now stands.

The allusion to Cæsar may be contrasted with Lord Chesterfield's character of that hero.

"Julius Cæsar joined business with pleasure so properly that

* The following parallel connects this paragraph with the writings of Junius:—"Every one will acknowledge that Lord Townshend was at Quebec, for every one remembers his letter from thence, and perhaps *Philo* can tell who the secretary was."—*Junius*, vol. II., p. 480.

they mutually assisted each other, and though he was the husband of all the wives in Rome, he found time to be one of the best scholars,—almost the best orator, and absolutely the best general there.”

It will not, perhaps, strike the hasty reader that the same train of thoughts was passing in the mind of the writer when he composed the above paragraph as had occurred to Lord Chesterfield, *ten years before*, while writing to his son.”

“Every rational being, I take it for granted, proposes to himself some object more important than mere respiration and obscure animal existence. He desires to distinguish himself among his fellow creatures, and *alicui negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ, famam quærit*. Cæsar, when embarking in a storm, said that it was not necessary he should live, but that it was absolutely necessary he should get to the place to which he was going. And Pliny leaves mankind the only alternative either of doing what deserves to be written, or of writing what deserves to be read.”

It is also remarkable that in this letter Lord Chesterfield warns his son against those faults in composition for which Lord Townshend was so severely criticized by the letter writer and by Junius.

“Your business is negotiation abroad and oratory at home. What figure can you make in either case if your style be inelegant; I do not say bad. Imagine yourself writing an office letter to a Secretary of State, which letter is to be read by the whole Cabinet Council, and very possibly afterwards laid before Parliament; *any one* barbarism, solecism, or vulgarism in it would, in a very few days, circulate through the whole kingdom to your disgrace and ridicule. For instance, I will suppose you had written the following letter from the Hague to the Secretary of State at London, and leave you to suppose the consequences of it:—

MY LORD,—I *had* last night the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th, and will *set about doing* the orders contained *therein*, and *if so be* that I can get that affair done by the next post I will not fail, *for* to *give* your Lordship an account of it by *next post*. I have told the French Minister *as how that if* that affair be not soon concluded your Lordship would think it *all along of him*, and that he must have neglected *for to* have wrote to his court

about it. I must beg leave to put your Lordship in mind *as how* that I am full three-quarters in arrears, and if *so be* that I do not very soon receive, at least, one half year, I shall *cut a very bad figure*, for *this here* place is very dear. I shall be *vastly beholden* to your Lordship for *that there* mark of your favour, and so *I rest* or *remain* yours, &c.

“You will tell me possibly that this is a *caricatura* and an illiberal and inelegant style. I will admit it, but assure you, at the same time, that a dispatch, with less than half these faults, would blow you up for ever.”

To those conversant with the human mind, and its associations, this proof will convey more weight than mere verbal similarities.

The use of the words, “surely,” “permit me,” which occur in the foregoing paragraph, has been included by Mr. Simons, in the evidence that the letter was written by Junius. These terms are of frequent occurrence in the writings of Lord Chesterfield. But a still more remarkable phrase occurs in the next paragraph, not to be met with in Junius, which identifies the writer of the “Letter” with Lord Chesterfield.

“You had only to temper the ardour of the soldiers in the pursuit, and, *I dare swear*, you led them on as regularly and as methodically, according to the rules of war, as your friend and favorite, Lord George, slow marched the cavalry at the battle of Minden.”

“*I dare swear*,” says Lord Chesterfield in a letter* to the Duke of Newcastle, “you well know that Mr. Farrington is dead.”—*Letters*, vol. IV., p. 257.

“Since I have mentioned the Minden hero, give me leave to ask you, for you are in his confidence, what has become of him. Is he retired (Scipio and others have done it) from the hopes of ambition and the views of glory? Retired to his late purchase among his faithful friends the Scots? At least to him they have been faithful.”

As the allusion to Scipio in this part of the letter has been considered by Mr. Simons, to be one of the peculiarities of Junius,

* This letter is worth referring to, since it shows how well qualified Lord Chesterfield was, in after life, to carry on the secret correspondence of Junius with Woodfall. A similar instance of duplicity will be found in a letter to Lord Lyttleton.—*Memoirs*, vol. I., p. 87.

it may be worth while to observe that of all the heroes of antiquity, Scipio was Lord Chesterfield's favourite. He makes frequent reference to him in his speeches and writings, one example will suffice.

"A Scipio may tear his papers when he can say, come and let us thank the gods," &c.

Lord Chesterfield's contempt of the Scots will be proved when the acknowledged productions of Junius are reviewed.

The writer of the "Letter" having dropt Lord Townshend, enters into the conduct of Lord Geo. Sackville at Minden, and ironically contrasts the cool behaviour of that nobleman, with the spirit and energy displayed by the Marquis of Granby on that occasion.

"What pity that all these maxims, the wisdom at once, and glory of a *Review* should be thus totally destroyed by one short hour's experience."

Lord Chesterfield evinced great contempt for soldiers not employed in active service. "As to what is now called discipline, I mean the punctilios usually observed at a *Review*," &c.

It would be tedious to point out every minute resemblance in the style and sentiments of this writer in comparison with Lord Chesterfield. The most prominent passages in the remaining paragraphs will therefore only be selected.

"Danger and difficulty seem to him (Lord Granby) motives of obedience to the orders he receives, and, undoubtedly, he wants Lords George's penetrating *spirit*, by which he should know before he tried them, how many things are *impossible*."

"Sense" says Lord Chesterfield "must distinguish between what is *impossible* and what is only *difficult*, and *spirit* and perseverance will get the better of the latter."*

This precept is frequently urged by Lord Chesterfield as the result of his own experience. His lordship also agrees with the writer that want of spirit is too often the cause of failure in military affairs. In reference to this American expedition, he says, "This is most certain, that we have force enough in America to

* To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, because vulgar minds make no distinction between the highly *difficult* and the *impossible*.—JUNIUS.

In this example we find the writer of "the letter," Lord Chesterfield, and Junius expressing the same sentiment, but here, as in every other parallel adduced, it will be found that Lord Chesterfield is *the author*, nor can the writer of "the letter" or Junius be charged with plagiarism since the sentiments occur in Lord Chesterfield's *posthumous* works.

eat up the French alive in Canada and Quebec, if we have but skill and *spirit* enough to exert it properly, but of that I am modest enough to doubt."

The opinion of the writer of the Letter on the policy of the German War is explicitly given.

"I am no friend to Continental measures; a bitter enemy to them in the extreme to which they are now carried. I am not so dazzled with the abilities and success of Duke Ferdinand, as not to see great faults, and great good fortune. Through all the glories with which the British arms are environed, I can see the lives of our brave countrymen, I think, much too prodigally lavished away, certainly beyond all proportion of numbers when compared with the rest of the army."

After having given a minute account of the conduct of the British troops, and the disproportioned slaughter of them at Minden, he exclaims,"

"Can an *Englishman* read this account without indignation? Can he see, without horror, the blood of his countrymen thus lavishly poured forth in this Germanic warfare? In any decisive action, let the British soldier bleed; let him die—even for *Hanover*. His blood may not be wholly useless to his country, nor his death unprofitable to that *common cause* of mankind liberty."

Lord Chesterfield's strenuous opposition to Hanoverian predilections was conspicuous during the "Great Walpolean Battles," and is said to have fostered a strong resentment against his lordship in the mind of *George the Second*.—*Hanover* was at that time the constant theme of Lord Chesterfield's virulent invectives in parliament and in the periodicals of the day. "*The case of the Hanover Troops*" and the "*Vindication*" of that pamphlet were joint productions of Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Waller. The statistical details probably fell to the share of Mr. Waller; the more polished paragraphs are evidently from the pen of Lord Chesterfield, these will at once remind the reader of the style and manner of Junius.

"If these are but the blossoms of the late boasted change of men and measures,—blossoms stained too with the deepest public and private perfidy, what are the fruits we must expect or rather dread from them? *Power is and must be maintained by the same means by which it is acquired*: and if we are to judge by the price

now paid for it, what will be the purchase of the remainder and the consequences of the bargain?"—*Vindication of the case of the Hanover Troops.*

"The same measures" (says Junius in his *first* letter, 1767) "by which an abandoned profligate is advanced to power, must be observed to maintain him in it."—Vol. II., p. 455.

Having given vent to his feelings on the subject of Hanover, the writer resumes his attack on Lord G. Sackville:—

"If, however, there could have remained a doubt upon the minds of the public with regard to Lord George's behaviour at the battle of Minden, after having read his trial, here comes the battle of Warburg. No stronger testimony *though one rose from the dead.*"

Lord Chesterfield has as irreverently used this quotation from scripture in one of his letters to his son:—

"I say no more to you on this subject. You have Mr. Harte with you to enforce it, so that, in short, you have Moses and the Prophets, if you will not believe them neither will you believe *though one rose from the dead.*"—*Letter 80.*

In the next paragraph the author criticises Lord Townshend's letter from Quebec, and ridicules (as Junius seven years later did) the expression that *the Highlanders took to their broad swords.* The impression that this seems to have made upon the writer proves that he was sensitive to any impropriety in composition, even under circumstances where a slip of this kind might be excused.

Lord Townshend's talent for caricatures is next animadverted on. This is said to have been the chief source of the writer's indignation.

"If his lordship is in general more famed for artifice and that more useful part of human wisdom called *cunning*,* yet surely your tricking General Monckton of the capitulation was a masterpiece of dexterity. If my lord excels in that well-bred species of wit known by the name of *sneering*, are not you equally excellent in that good natured species of painting called *caricatura*, the amusement of your idle hours?"

Nothing was more offensive to Lord Chesterfield than the species of wit here said to have been indulged in by Lord Geo. Townshend. "Raillery," says his lordship, "requires a very light and steady hand to administer it. A little too strong it may be

* "In a great business there is nothing so fatal as *cunning* management."—*Chesterfield's Letter to his Son.*"

mistaken for offence, and a little too *smooth* it may be thought a *sneer*, which is a most *odious* thing."

Junius has given more than one instance of his dislike at any approach to this "well-bred kind of wit."*

The writer of the letter thus sums up the qualifications of his two heroes:—

"These are the great outlines of your characters, and if we should examine *every the minutest feature*,† we shall find not a striking resemblance only, but of such a peculiar kind as cannot be mistaken for any one else. If I may be forgiven for *deviating* into poetry,

Nought but yourselves can be your parallels.

"Hereafter, I mean in our future history, one character of *praise* will be sufficient for both. It will be impossible to separate and disunite your merits or the honours with which they are to be rewarded. In public life, the same military virtues, the same appetite for fighting, and the same abhorrence of retreating,—the same perplexed passion for intrigue, business, politics, ministerial confidence, and parliamentary debates. In private life the same spirit of calumny and *caricatura*, the same insolence of manners and arrogance of behaviour, the same *vetus et insita familia superbia*."

"In these last instances, however, you must forgive me, sir, if I think his lordship, whether from genius or some luckier accident, may justly claim a small degree of superiority. He was not born indeed, but he was educated from his earliest infancy, in the house of royalty, *Prima ab infantia eductus in domo regnatrice*. Here, it is confessed, there was some danger of his perverting those precious instincts with which nature had so liberally endowed him. He might unhappily have learned to become humane, affable, and

* "I speak to men and to their experience, and will not descend to answer the little *sneering* sophistry of a collegian."—*Vol. II.*, p. 305.

† The author of the "Letter" gives another example in the postscript of this kind of construction:—

"When they would have received with pleasure *any the least* hopes," &c.

As this was not a common mode of construction at that time, it may be worth while to quote the following parallels from Lord Chesterfield:—

"Practice them upon *every the least* occasion."—*Letter to his Son*.

— "and advise them to be watchful of *any the least* innovations of any part of it."—*Works*, *Vol. II.*, p. 42.

condescending,—to compassionate the follies, to forgive the errors of his fellow creatures, and to pay a sacred reverence to *human nature*. Such are the examples, indeed, of all the princes upon earth of a *royal education*.”

“But he totally escaped these pernicious errors as unwounded, except another slight scratch in his reputation, as at the battle of Minden. By a peculiar and wonderful strength of virtue in his constitution, he escaped even the poisonous breathings of flattery, that incense of courts so profusely offered up to the young heirs of greatness, and without which no human creature, not even a lord, could dare to be insolent. How well he maintained the not too humble consciousness of his own worth, with what modest confidence he always exerted his abilities, let his behaviour at his trial be an everlasting testimony. It should have been a full vindication of his conduct at Minden. There, at least, his complexion was unvaried, his eye firm and unshaken, his whole deportment rather in the extreme of courage than liable even to the suspicion of cowardice. There he certainly wanted not that presence of mind which is the first great excellence of a general, nor did that *weakness of nerves*, for which a man is no more accountable than for any other error of his constitution,* affect him on an occasion that would have made many a gallant spirit tremble. He boldly insulted his judge, overawed the resolution of the court, gave his own asseveration of his innocence (the only uncontradicted evidence he gave), and triumphed in the success of those asseverations : a noble example, and worthy of your imitation.”

“But you, sir, should disdain the servile spirit of imitation; it is beneath a genius like yours. You should determine yourself to be an original for others to imitate, you should be apprehensive of the usual fate of imitators, who generally copy rather errors than excellencies, as indeed it is easier to bend the head like Alexander or Boscawen, than to imitate their courage and intrepidity.†”

As we approach the conclusion of this extraordinary letter, the

* “I am convinced,” writes Lord Chesterfield, “that a light supper, a good night’s rest, and a fine morning, have sometimes made a *hero* of the same man, who by an indigestion, a restless night, and a rainy morning, would have proved a *coward*.”—*Letter* 117.

† “Like true imitators, we only ape their imperfections, and awkwardly copy those parts, which all reasonable Frenchmen themselves contemn.—*Chesterfield*.”

paragraphs present stronger features, indicative of the writer. The *irony* becomes more severe ; the author's contempt for greatness without merit more apparent, while the sentences furnish several instances of agreement in the sentiments, and expressions used by Junius and by Lord Chesterfield.

But the most singular feature in the "Letter," is contained in a paragraph above quoted, wherein the writer betrayed his resentment against Geo. II. If the motives we have assigned to Lord Chesterfield be admitted, the apparent inconsistency of abusing *both* the King and Lord G. Sackville is at once explained, but if any doubt remain, let the following passages from Lord Chesterfield's correspondence, *when suffering under similar disappointments*, be compared with the sentiments expressed in this remarkable paragraph.

"As Kings are begotten, and born like other men, it is to be presumed that they are of the human species, and perhaps, had they the same *education*, they might prove like other men ; but flattered from their cradles, their hearts are corrupted, and their heads are turned so that they seem to be a species by themselves. No King ever said to himself

Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.

"The rulers of the earth are all worth knowing, they suggest moral reflections, and the respect that one naturally has for God's vicegerents here on earth is greatly increased by acquaintance with them.—*Letter to his Son*, p. 308.

"The emperor, by your account, seems to be very well for an emperor, who, by being above other monarchs in Europe, may justly be supposed to have had a proportionably *worse education*. I find by your account of him that he has been trained up to homicide, the only science in which princes are ever instructed, and with good reason, as their greatness and glory depend upon the numbers of their fellow creatures which their ambition exterminates. If a sovereign should by great accident *deviate* into* moderation, justice, and clemency, what a contemptible figure would he make in the catalogue of princes."—*Letter to his Son*.

We should dwell longer on the proofs contained in this letter, if the facts to be adduced as evidence that Lord Chesterfield was

* Charteris now and then *deviated* into honesty.—*Junius*.

the author of the writings of Junius, were not far more conclusive than those derived from this source. All that has been attempted to be shewn, is, that the circumstances which identify Lord Chesterfield to be the author of the "Letter" are *stronger* than those which have convinced many that it was written by Junius, for, in addition to similarity of style and verbal peculiarities, the *personal feelings* of the writer have been traced, and so far as circumstances will permit, have been brought home to Lord Chesterfield.

As the hostility of Junius towards Lord Townshend was of short duration, (although his lordship was *one* of the first singled out by that anonymous writer for the exercise of his satire and abuse), it may be well to complete this part of the subject by references to the letters of Junius, in which the character of Lord Townshend is introduced.*

In the first of these letters Junius says—"I have been for some time in the *country*†, which has prevented your hearing sooner from me. I find you and your brother *printers* have got greatly into a sort of *knack* of stuffing your papers with flummery upon two

* The letters IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. of Woodfall's Miscellaneous Collection (comprising a period of only *two months*) refer chiefly to Lord Townshend's appointment as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

† Here is a distinction which attaches strong suspicion to the Earl of Chesterfield. On referring to his lordship's letters, it will be seen he was at *Blackheath* at this time, and left town when Junius ceased writing. The following table will distinctly prove the connection :—

Dates of Junius's Letters.	Dates of the Earl of Chesterfield's Letters.
London, April 28, 1767.	London, April 6, 1767.
— May 28,	— May 5,
— June 24,	— June 1,
— Aug. 25,	Blackheath, July 2,
— Sept. 16,	Blackheath, — 9,
— Oct. 12,	London, Oct. 30,
— — 22,	
— — 31,	

There is another circumstance connected with these dates that deserves attention. It will be seen here, (as throughout the whole of Junius's correspondence) that they are distinct from each other. The letters of the Earl of Chesterfield to his correspondents, seldom, if ever, were written so as to interfere with the labours of Junius.

As these facts are material to the elucidation of the question, another instance may be traced for the satisfaction of the reader. The Earl of Chesterfield left London the first week in November, 1767: during this month, and the greater part of December, no letter appeared from Junius.

certain brothers* who are, labour-in-vain, endeavouring to force themselves out of the world's contempt."

"I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have served under the one and have been forty times promised *to be served* by the other. I don't think it possible to characterise either without having recourse to the other; but anybody who knows one of them may easily obtain an idea of the other! Thus, now, suppose you acquainted with the Chancellor, take away his ingenuity and a something that at times looks like good nature, but it is not, and you have the direct and actual character of the peer, a boaster without spirit and a pretender to wit without a grain of sense, in a word, a vain glorious idler without one single good quality of head or heart. I hope his affairs with Lord —— and Mr. —— are the only instances of his setting out with unnecessary insolence, and ending with shameful tameness.† But is such a man likely to please the brave Irish, whose hasty tempers or whose blunders may sometimes lead them into a quarrel, but whose swords always carry them through it."—*Woodfall's Junius*, vol. II., p. 468.

Whether there be any *semblance of truth* in the writer's assertion that *he had served under Lord Townshend*, so as to reconcile the fact with the situation of Lord Chesterfield's former varied employments, would be difficult to prove. It is, however, well known that Lord Chesterfield raised a regiment during the rebellion of 1745, and that Lord Townshend at that time held an important command in the army. The author of the "Letter" alludes to the conduct of Lord Townshend at that critical period.

"The Highlanders would not have made such an *obstinate resistance* at the battle of Culloden, or rendered the sword and target so justly terrible to the British soldiery, if even your *perfect veneration* for the person of your royal commander could have prevailed over your natural antipathy to a northern campaign."

As regards Charles Townshend (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at this time), it is *presumed* that Lord Chesterfield

* Lord Townshend and his brother the celebrated Charles Townshend. The latter died a few weeks after the date of this letter.

† These were not the only affairs of this kind in which Lord Townshend was engaged. In 1773 he met Lord Bellamont in Mary-le-bone fields, and ended the *long protracted* quarrel by wounding his opponent.—*London Mag.*, Vol. XLII., p. 87-97.

had applied to him on the subject of Mr. Stanhope's preferment, and it is probable that on several other occasions Lord Chesterfield had been promised *to be served* by that gentleman. The manner in which Lord Chesterfield sometimes speaks* of Charles Townshend savours of disapprobation and resentment. "Charles Townshend," observed his lordship in 1765, "will play booty;" and it was at this time that Lord Chesterfield is believed to have sent the following *bon mot* to Woodfall: "We hear that the Right Honorable Mr. Charles Townshend is indisposed at his house in Oxfordshire of a pain in *his side*, but it is not said *in which side*."

The characters of the two brothers are ably discriminated by Junius, and he proves himself to have been well acquainted with the parties he so ingeniously contrasted.

The "affair with Lord ———," relates to a meeting between Lord Albemarle and Lord Townshend, which is thus noticed by Horace Walpole, Nov. 4, 1760. "An extraordinary event has happened to-day,—George Townshend sent a challenge to Lord Albemarle desiring him to be with a second in the fields. Lord Albemarle took Colonel Crawford and went to Mary-bone; Geo. Townshend bespoke Lord Buckingham, who loves a secret too well not to tell it; he communicated it to Stanley, who went to St. James's and acquainted Mr. Caswall, the captain on guard. The latter took an hackney coach, drove to Mary-bone, and saw one pair; after waiting ten minutes the others came. Townshend made an apology to Lord Albemarle for making him wait. Oh, said he, men of spirit don't want apologies; come, let us begin what we came here for. At that instant out stept Caswall from his coach and begs their pardon as his superior officers, but told them they were his prisoners. He desired Mr. Townshend and Lord Buckingham to return to their coach; he would carry back Lord Albemarle and Crawford in his. He did, and went to acquaint the King, who has commissioned some of the

* There must have been a trick in Charles Townshend's speaking for the Preliminaries, for he is infinitely above having an opinion.—Chesterfield to his Son, 1762.

Charles Townshend has given himself more ministerial airs than Lord Chatham will, I believe, approve of. However, since Lord Chatham has thought fit to withdraw himself from that House, he cannot well do without Charles's abilities to manage it as his deputy.—Feb. 13, 1767.

matrons of the army to examine the affair and make it up. All this while I don't know what the quarrel was, but they hated one another so much on the Duke's account, that a slight word would easily make their aversions boil over."*

It does not appear in what manner the quarrel was made up, or whether the author of the "Letter" was discovered, though it was, perhaps, through *his interference* that the duel was prevented, and the steps which he took to save Lord Albemarle possibly led to the detection of the writer. Lord Albemarle was charged only with encouraging the publication,* and probably he had no suspicion of its author or of his motives for writing the "Letter."

That Lord Albemarle should have been suspected of having promoted the circulation of this libel on Lord Townshend, may be accounted for by the relative position of the parties. Lord Townshend accepted the command in America *after* Lord Albemarle had declined the appointment; the latter might, therefore, feel jealous of the reputation Lord Townshend had acquired in the capitulation of Quebec. Whether Lord Albemarle was *much pressed* to accept the command, is doubtful; for, notwithstanding the plausibility of Lord Barrington's letter on the subject, it appears more than probable that his lordship hoped to obtain the preferment for his brother.† The following is Lord Barrington's letter of congratulation to Colonel Townshend, Dec. 30. 1758:—

* It is said the quarrel arose from a late publication.—*London Chronicle*, Nov. 1760.

† Lord Barrington to Viscount Ligonier, Oct. 14, 1758.

"I am very sorry to hear that there is even a possibility of General Boscawen not going with the Expedition, especially as your lordship seems to think there will not be time to substitute any other Major-General in his place. By these means my brother is in danger of being second in command, and whoever is second may soon be first. I use the term *danger*, because nothing is so unfortunate as being placed at the head of a great enterprize to which one is not equal. Though Colonel Barrington served all the last war, it was as captain, *aid-de-camp*, or volunteer. He has a good understanding, and is very much resolved to do his duty; but I do not think him qualified for the important office of a Commander-in-Chief, much less when that command has been declined already by Major-General Mostyn and Lord Albemarle, as thinking themselves unequal to it. I have, in some measure, foreseen this event, from the willingness which has universally appeared to be excused from this service; and, therefore, I have begged more than once of your Lordship and Mr. Pitt, that two officers, at least, of superior rank might be sent,—the only favour I have desired for my friend, my brother, and my heir. I again deprecate Colonel Barrington being so near the command, and I entreat of your Lordship to recommend some other Major-General to His Majesty in case Mr. Boscawen should be excused. If this cannot be, I must submit, as I always

“And now, my dear George, allow me most sincerely to congratulate you on the honour you have done yourself by the very noble and (I think) wise step you have taken on this occasion. *I hope officers with regiments will be ashamed to decline service any where after the example you have set*; and, in my opinion, it is for the King’s service, nay, I may add, his honour, that such a conduct should not be long unnoticed or unrewarded by him. You know I never flatter you, but I have particular pleasure in such opportunities of telling you my mind as these.”

The slur cast by Lord Barrington upon officers declining service, is evidently levelled at Lord Albemarle.

It will be seen by the last sentence in the foregoing paragraph from Junius (p. 31), that the writer was partial to the Irish nation, though his *encomium* by no means indicates that he was an Irishman. It exhibits the friendly feeling which Lord Chesterfield evinced whenever he spoke of his “adopted country;”—not the spontaneous affection of a legitimate offspring, but the warm esteem which the recollection of kindness will produce.

In letter V., [Woodfall’s edition,] Junius professes to supply Lord Townshend with the outlines of a caricature, in which several new characters are introduced, and, among the rest, Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barrè.

The difficulty of reconciling the letters of Junius with the situation and connections of many of the candidates, first caused their authenticity to be doubted. But they have been given to the world on pretty good authority; they also contain internal evidence that the greater part are *genuine Letters of Junius*. But as far as regards the two in which the names of Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barrè are mentioned, there does not appear to be the shadow of a doubt that *they*, at least, are genuine: for the publisher, in his notices to correspondents, acknowledged that they came from his correspondent C.

will to the King’s pleasure; but in this one instance I shall submit with reluctance and concern.

“Your Lordship, I think, will be of opinion that whoever has the chief command under General Hopson, should have some distinction, and that he will want an *aid-de-camp*; and, therefore, if my brother is to be second in command, I hope you will propose to the King that he should serve as Major (not Brigadier) General. Colonel Webbe acted as such under Lord Loudon in America from the beginning without any commission.”—*Political Life of Lord Barrington*, page 44.

In the letter before us, the figures of Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barrè are thus to be delineated.

“There is still a *young man*,* my lord, who, I think, will make a capital figure in the piece. His features are too happily marked to be mistaken. A single line in his face will be sufficient to give us the heir apparent of Loyola and all the College. A little more of the devil, my lord, if you please, about the eyebrows—that’s enough—a perfect Malagrida I protest. So much for his person; as for his mind, a blinking bull dog† placed near him, will form a very natural type of all his good qualities.”

In a subsequent letter, dated 7th October, 1767, (*which is also authenticated by a notice from the printer to his friend and correspondent C*), the dog is again introduced. The letter was announced —“The Grand Council upon the affairs of Ireland, after eleven adjournments.”

The *dramatis personæ* of the Council are—

Tilbury (fuddled)..... Earl of Northington.

Judge Jefferyes..... Earl Camden.

Caution, without foresight.. Mr. Conway.

Malagrida..... Lord Shelburne.

Boutdeville (sulky)..... Lord Townshend.

A chair *left empty* for the High Treasurer (the Duke of Grafton), detained by a hurry of business at Newmarket.

A dog barks and wakens Tilbury, who starts up.

“*Tilbury*.—Zounds! my lord, do you keep bull dogs in your house?

Malagrida.—No, my lord; it’s but a mungrel.‡ Your true English bull dog never quits his hold, but this cur plays fast and loose just as I bid him; he worries a man one moment, and fawns upon him the next.”

The Council breaks up, and leaves Malagrida to soliloquize.

“What a negro’s skin must I have if this shallow fellow could see my meaning in my face. Now will I skulk away to ———, where I will betray or misrepresent every syllable I have heard, ridicule their persons, blacken their characters, fawn upon the man

* Lord Shelburne.

† Colonel Barrè.

‡ Colonel Barrè was a *native* of Ireland, though of French *extraction*; hence the sarcasm of *mungrel*.

who hears me, until I have an opportunity of biting even him to the heart."

Junius, in his reply to an answer to this letter, says:—

"One word more, and I have done. Did it become him who has undertaken the defence of a whole ministry, to forget *the dog*? This mungrel, that barks, and bites, and fawns, has, nevertheless, a share in Council; and, in the opinion of the best judges, cuts full as good a figure in it as his master."

The resentment of Junius towards Lord Shelburne, continued as long as his lordship remained in office. On the 22nd October, 1768, (nearly a twelvemonth after the above was written), Junius again introduced Lord Shelburne to the public, and described him in terms more offensive than even the portrait he had sketched for him in the character of Malagrida.

"The Earl of Shelburne had initiated himself in business by carrying messages between the Earl of Bute and Mr. Fox, and was for some time a favourite with both. Before he was an ensign he thought himself fit to be a general and to be a leading minister before he ever saw a public office. The life of this *young man* is a satire on mankind. The treachery which deserts a friend, might be a virtue compared to the fawning baseness which attaches itself to a declared enemy. Lord Chatham became his idol, introduced him into the most difficult department of the state, and left him there to shift for himself. It was a masterpiece of revenge. Unconnected, unsupported, he remains in office without interest or dignity, as if the income were an equivalent for all loss of reputation. Without spirit or judgment to take an advantageous moment of retiring, he submits to be insulted as long as he is paid for it. But even this abject conduct will avail him nothing. Like his great archetype, the vapour on which he rose deserts him, and now,

'Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops.' "

At the time these letters were written, Lord Shelburne was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Colonel Barrè (his confidential friend) was Vice Treasurer of Ireland. It would have been absolute insanity in either to have written such libels on themselves. With Lord Chesterfield the case was

different. He was at that time neglected by every Minister, and he had just experienced the disappointment of having the doors of the House of Commons closed against his son. His only reliance in 1767, was on the Duke of Grafton; and *therefore* his Grace was spared until the arrangements for the new Parliament were completed.

The third letter of the Townshend series is an answer to a writer in the *Public Advertiser*,* who had undertaken to vindicate Lord Townshend against the aspersion of a correspondent under the signature No GHOST, and who (*if not Junius himself*) was evidently a person well known to that writer. This letter is signed MODERATOR. There is a vein of ironical humour running through the whole of it, that if it were not for its length we should be tempted to lay it at once before the reader as a specimen of Lord Chesterfield's *lively* manner of writing. The following extract, however, deserves notice from the parallel passage it contains, which not only connects this letter with the more authentic publications of Junius, but affords another instance of similarity in the use of a phrase rarely found in other writers.

"*Philo Veritatis* asserts that his hero, Lord Townshend, gave proofs of his *bravery* at Minden and Quebec. *No Ghost* denies the fact, upon the presumed impossibility of his transporting himself from one of these places to the other in the space of ten days, unless he could fly, and that very fast too. Now flying being a quality which *Philo Veritatis* does not choose to ascribe (*whatever belief it might gain with the public*)† to his hero, answers this in somewhat a new way. "This objection," says he, "has no weight, and is made only to introduce a scrap of Latin and a witticism. This may be a very good answer at CROSS PURPOSES, but it is, I confess, a very whimsical one in the present case."—*Woodfall's Junius*, Vol. II., p. 478.

The application of the passage of the Provoked Husband in

* PHILO VERITATIS.

† The genuineness of this letter may be still further authenticated by comparing the similarity of sentiment contained in the following parallel, rendered the more remarkable by its singularity:—

JUNIUS.—"When once a man is determined to *believe*, the very *absurdity* of the doctrine confirms him in his faith.

CHESTERFIELD.—"The fact will appear so *incredible* that it will certainly be *believed*, the only difficulty will be how to account for it."

The credulity of the vulgar and their fondness for the marvellous, levelled at in each of these examples, proves the writer to have been a sceptic.

which the phrase "*cross purposes*" occurs (in this instance used by the writer as his own composition), is acknowledged in a subsequent letter to have been borrowed from Sir John Brute." "Now, Mr. Woodfall, I shall make but one reflection, and that I shall *borrow* from Sir John Brute. This may be a very good answer, for aught I know, at *cross purposes*, but it is a damned whimsical one to a people in our circumstances."—*Woodfall's Junius*, Vol. III., p. 212. The writer, however, at a later date, under the signature Junius, adopted the phrase "*cross purposes*," and used it as his own.

"This, indeed, would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I *presume* no man whose understanding is not at *cross purposes* with itself could possibly understand."—*Vol. I*, p. 520.

"That worthy lawyer is never at *cross purposes* with himself, and I *dare say* would have maintained the same *doctrine* in his closet which he has delivered for the instruction of the public."—*Vol. III.*, p. 205.

Lord Chesterfield says that his friend Lyttleton was often so wrapped up in thought that he did not know his most intimate acquaintance by sight, and "answered them as if he were at *cross-purposes*." And in one of the papers of *The World*, his lordship quotes Sir John Brute,* thereby shewing the impression that character had made on him. But enough has been said to authenticate the Letter signed MODERATOR, and connect it with the "Letter" to Brigadier Townshend, we therefore pass on to the remainder of the series.

Letter VII† is entitled "*Grand council upon the affairs of*

* A gentleman is every man who, with a tolerable suit of clothes, a sword by his side, and a watch and snuff-box in his pocket, asserts himself to be a gentleman, swears with energy that he will be treated as such, and that he will cut the throat of any man who presumes to say the contrary.

He may abuse and starve his own wife, daughters or sisters, he may seduce those of other men, particularly his friends, with inviolate HONOUR, because, as Sir John Brute very justly observes, *he wears a sword*.—*Mis. Works*, Vol. II., p. 202-3.

† This and the next letter are remarkable from having been attributed to Edmund Burke. It is no less singular that the next communication from Junius was a *bonâ fide* speech of Mr. Burke's, sent with a short preface by Junius for insertion in the *Public Advertiser*. It is possible that this stratagem was resorted to by Junius to keep alive the conjecture that Burke was the author of the Report of the Hill-street Council, and by that means to withdraw suspicion from himself.

It would be useless here to enlarge in refutation of the claims of Mr.

Ireland after eleven adjournments." The author professes to give a report of a meeting in Hill-street, convened for the purpose of drawing up Lord Townshend's instructions for the government of Ireland. This was a subject that could not fail to attract the attention of Lord Chesterfield, and though he might not have been consulted by the parties, yet his lordship's friends would naturally communicate to him the *circumstances* of Lord Townshend's embarrassment.

Notwithstanding the levity of the writer's description of the characters included in this drama, the *result* of the conference cannot be regarded as a pure fiction, for in answer to a correspondent (who pretended to give a *real* account of what passed at the council) the writer, in the seriousness of truth, warned his opponent not to provoke the exposure of the *actual conduct* of the parties on that occasion.*

"If facts asserted are notoriously false," says Junius, "the assertion of them can do no mischief; if notoriously true they are beyond the reach of his wit, if he had any to palliate, or of his modesty, which I think is upon a par with his wit, to deny.

"Now, sir, if I were not afraid of distressing him too much, I would ask him whether Lord Townshend did not openly complain, only three days before his departure, that he could not by the warmest solicitations prevail on the ministry to agree upon *any one* system of instructions for him, that he was left entirely to himself, and that the ministry could not be persuaded to pay the smallest attention either to his situation or to that of the country he was sent to govern. Did he not say this without reserve to every man he met even in public court, and with all possible marks of resentment and disgust? I would advise your second correspondent not

Burke, since this speech is the only tangible proof in his favour. His character, connections, and political opinions differ widely from those of Junius; moreover, he frequently and solemnly denied any knowledge of the letters. But Burke was personally acquainted with Lord Chesterfield, and this will, perhaps, account for the copy of the speech finding its way to Woodfall.

* This threatening to give still greater annoyance to his adversaries "if provoked," is a practical illustration of one of the maxims of Lord Chesterfield:—

"If you have the power to hurt, *hint*, that if provoked, you may possibly have the will too."

Hints of this kind occur in the correspondence of Junius with the Duke of Bedford, Lord Hillsborough, Mr. Weston, and almost every other character who dared to oppose that writer.

to deny these known facts, for if he does I will assuredly produce some proofs of them which will gall his patrons a little more than anything they have seen already. Let one of them only recollect what sort of conversation very lately passed between him and the Lord-Lieutenant, how he was pressed and how he evaded. But the facts, of which the public are already possessed, sufficiently speak for themselves, and the nation wants no further proof of the weakness, ignorance, irresolution, and spirit of discord which reign triumphant in this illustrious divan, who have dared to take upon them the conduct of an empire.”—*Vol. II., p. 497.*

The ostensible design of the letters against Lord Townshend was to expose the incapacity of the ministers, and more particularly with reference to their management of Ireland. At the same time the writer appears to have been prompted, by some *recent injury*, to abuse the several parties named in the drama. Lord Townshend (who seems to have been the principal object of the writer’s spleen) visited Lord Chesterfield *once* after his appointment to the Lieutenancy of Ireland. The circumstance is thus noticed in a letter to the Bishop of Waterford, dated 10th Oct., 1766.—“You have a new Lord-Lieutenant, *I have seen him once*, and he seems resolved to do well. One thing I verily believe, that he will have no dirty work done nor the least corruption suffered.”—*Letters, Vol. III., p. 433.*

It must be borne in mind that this guarded encomium on Lord Townshend (in which his lordship’s *qualifications as a viceroy* are not mentioned) was written *before* Lord Chesterfield had any cause to be displeased with the ministers. It also proves that Lord Townshend had seen Lord Chesterfield on the subject of his recent appointment, and may not Junius refer to this very interview in the concluding paragraph of the last letter?

The enmity of Junius towards Lord Townshend appears to have subsided with this letter, for, although Junius occasionally alluded to the mismanagement of Ireland, and at a later period betrayed his contempt for Lord Townshend, and promised that the history of his ridiculous administration should not be lost to the public, yet he seems to have studiously avoided the subject. It was a theme, perhaps, too hazardous for Junius to attempt, since he could scarcely have condemned the viceroyship of Townshend without reminding the public of the popular administration Lord Chesterfield.

In the letter "To the Honourable Brigadier-General," Lord George Sackville received his full share of abuse. It has been shown that at that time Lord Chesterfield consorted with those who strove to injure Lord George Sackville's reputation. Neither is there any proof that Lord Chesterfield ever professed such a regard for his lordship as would prevent him from saying, in 1767,—

"I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here, and I know he loves to be stationed in the *rear** as well as myself."—Vol. II, p. 491.

This, however, is the only instance in which the name of Lord George Sackville is referred to by Junius in his public letters; but soon after that writer had attracted attention, suspicion rested on Lord George Sackville as the author. In July, 1769, Junius cautions Mr. Woodfall to be on his guard against Swinney (one of Woodfall's correspondents), "who had the impudence to go to Lord George Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and ask him whether or no he was Junius."

The fact that Junius continued to write for more than two years after this disclosure, is alone sufficient to prove that Swinney was mistaken in his conjecture; for had Lord George Sackville been Junius, he might have been traced in his subsequent correspondence either by Swinney or by Mr. Woodfall. The alarm betrayed by Junius, and the assertion that Swinney had never before spoken to Lord George Sackville, indicates, it is true, a personal acquaintance between Junius and his lord-

* An anecdote is related of Lord George Sackville, that shews he could bear his character for bravery aspersed, with a calm forbearance which a coward can never assume.

His lordship, after he had taken the title of Germaine, procured a living for a gentleman whom he had not the honour of knowing. For this civility the gentleman waited on Lord George to return him his thanks. His lordship being inclined to make his situation as easy as possible, acquainted him that since he had procured the living, a second of equal value was within his gift, and he begged to recommend it to him in preference to the other, which was unluckily situated close to a *powder-mill*. The young parson desiring to express a sense of his gratitude, also to give his lordship a specimen of his wit, unfortunately answered that he was much obliged to his lordship, for he had as great an aversion to powder, as Lord George Sackville.

His lordship, unruffled, replied with the highest courtesy—"In that particular, sir, you may find, upon more mature deliberation, that common fame has deceived you," without even betraying to the flippant priest, that Lord George Germaine had been Lord George Sackville.

ship; and this will explain the mystery of the *early* and *accurate* information which Junius obtained of Swinney's impertinent visit, for Lord G. Sackville not being Junius would probably mention to his acquaintance so extraordinary an occurrence.

In a pamphlet published in 1825, (attempting to prove that Lord Geo. Sackville was Junius), we find the author compelled to have recourse to Lord Chesterfield in order to account for the knowledge of certain anecdotes divulged by Junius relating to the Duke and Duchess of Bedford.

The author of this pamphlet admits that Lord Chesterfield's abilities would have been "unquestionably equal to the task" of writing the letters of Junius, but among other objections, he states that Lord Chesterfield died a short time *before* Mr. Woodfall and Junius concluded their correspondence. It will be shown that Lord Chesterfield died *at the very time* that Woodfall was expecting the fulfilment of the promise held out by Junius in his last letter, dated 19th Jan., 1773.

"Junius must have been more than a common political enemy to the duke," says Mr. Coventry, "or he would not have taken such infinite pains to collect a catalogue of the various indignities that had been offered to him. He writes to his printer more than once to obtain for him the information when the duke was flogged by Humphry. Not satisfied with this, he relates anecdotes of the duchess, which might easily have been obtained from Lord Chesterfield, with whom Lord George was on intimate terms. Another anecdote respecting the duke's chastisement evidently came from that quarter: "Mr. Heston Humphry, a country attorney, horsewhipped the duke with equal justice, severity, and perseverance on the course at Litchfield. Rigby and Lord Trentham were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner. This gave rise to the following story. When the late King heard that Sir Edward Hawke had given the French a drubbing, his Majesty, who had never received that kind of chastisement, was pleased to ask Lord Chesterfield the meaning of the word. Sir, says Lord Chesterfield, the meaning of the word—— but here comes the Duke of Bedford, who is better able to explain it to your Majesty than I am."

This last anecdote was not published originally with the letter to the Duke of Bedford, but was added by Junius when he revised

Woodfall's Edition of the letters in 1771. The danger of discovery had then in a great measure ceased, and Junius feeling assured of the absence of any positive proofs from his writings, seemed rather to court enquiry, by relating circumstances of a private nature, known but to few beyond the Duke's own family. "Let the friends of the Duke of Bedford observe that humble silence which becomes their situation. They should recollect that there are still some facts in store at which human nature would shudder. *I shall be understood by those whom it concerns, when I say that these facts go farther than to the Duke.*"

At the time this warning was written, there were not many persons better acquainted with the private and public history of the Duke of Bedford than Lord Chesterfield—none perhaps but himself could "privately threaten his Grace with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave."

It is not necessary to enter minutely into the enquiry whether Lord George Sackville wrote the letters of Junius, since his lordship's official papers are sufficient certificates of his incapacity; but the absurdity of the supposition has lately been fully confirmed in the review* of a work attempting to affix the authorship of Junius on Lord George Sackville. We shall, therefore, only add a few particulars relating to his lordship's political connections after the memorable event that is supposed to have induced him to write the letters of Junius.

In 1759 Lord George Sackville was deprived of all his employments by Geo. II., and his name struck out of the Council Book by the King's own hand. He was afterwards, at his own request, tried by court martial, found guilty of disobeying Prince Ferdinand's orders, and declared unfit to serve His Majesty in any military capacity whatever.

Notwithstanding these disgraces, he was introduced the next year at court by Lord Bute, and would probably have enjoyed the favours of the young King, if the ministry had not compelled him to retire.

That this was the will of the ministers and not of the King, is evident from what followed after Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle had resigned. In 1765 Lord George was re-instated a

* Vol. ii., p. 32.

† Athæneum, Feb. 10, 1844.

member of the Privy Council, and appointed one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland; but the next year Lord Chatham's ministry was formed, and Lord George Sackville was excluded. It does not appear that in all these reverses Lord George had any cause to complain of the behaviour of the King towards him. His lordship, however, did not accept office again till 1775, and in the interim the letters of Junius were written.

As Mr. Britton has included Mr. Dunning with Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, as joint proprietor in the works of Junius, it may be expected that some notice will be taken of the pretensions of that gentleman to the authorship of the letters.

"Of all the reputed authors of these celebrated addresses," says Mr. Woodfall's editor, "Dunning, Lord Ashburton, offers the largest aggregate of claim in his favour, and, but for a few facts which seem decisive against him, might fairly be admitted to have been the real JUNIUS.

"Dunning was Solicitor-General at the time these letters first appeared, and for more than a twelvemonth afterwards; and Junius himself has openly and solemnly affirmed *I am NO LAWYER BY PROFESSION, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country.* Dunning was a man of high unblemished honour as well as of high independent principles; it cannot, therefore, be supposed that he would have vilified the king while one of the king's confidential servants and counsellors; nor would he, as a barrister, have written to Woodfall in the course of a confidential correspondence, —*I am advised that no jury will find a bill.*"—*Preliminary Essay, p. 155.*

In addition to these circumstances, Junius frequently expressed his contempt for the profession. In a private letter to Wilkes he shrunk from the imputation of belonging to a class of men whose general character he despised as much as he did the nation that so often felt the force of his satire. "Though I use the terms of art do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer, I had as lief be a Scotchman."

The opinions of Lord Ashburton were also in some cases directly opposite to those of Junius, neither does there appear to be any proof that he had cause for personal resentment against those whom Junius from time to time singled out as victims to

appease the wrath of his vengeance. A single instance of Mr. Dunning's opposition to that writer will be sufficient to prove how ill-founded was this conjecture.

Junius, in his letter to Lord Mansfield, condemns the conduct of Baron Smythe in the case of John Taylor, who had, in spite of the instructions of the judge, been found guilty of murder.

"Your brother Smythe," says Junius, "brow beats a jury and forces them to alter their verdict by which they had found a Scotch Sergeant guilty of murder,—and though the Kennedies were convicted of a most deliberate and atrocious murder they still had a claim to the royal mercy. They were saved by the chastity of their connections. They had a sister—yet it was not her beauty but the pliancy of her virtue that recommended her to the king. The holy author of our religion was seen in the company of sinners, but it was his gracious purpose to convert them from their sins. Another man, who in the ceremonies of our faith might give lessons to the great enemy of it upon different principles, keeps much the same company. He advertises for patients, collects all the diseases of the heart, and turns a royal palace into an hospital of incurables. A man of honour has no ticket of admission at St. James's. They receive him like a virgin at the Magdalen—*Go thou and do likewise.*—*Vol. II., p. 440.*

Mr. Dunning, though a strong oppositionist, defended Mr. Baron Smythe's conduct in respect to the trial alluded to by Junius, in a speech spoken on a motion made by Mr. Sergeant Glynn, Dec. 6, 1770. Mr. Dunning observed, "It is not that the characters of Judges are not traduced by groundless accusations and scandalous aspersions. These are grievances which every one sees and every one laments. Judge Smythe, for example, has to my knowledge been very injuriously treated. His conduct in trying the Scotch Sergeant at Guildford, for which he has been so much abused in print and now arraigned in parliament, was, in my opinion, very fair and honorable. I was consulted on the affair as an advocate, and I must say that I perfectly coincided with him in sentiment. Had I been in his place I must have fallen under the same odium, for my conscience would not have allowed me to use any other language but that of Baron Smythe."—*Editor's note to Woodfall's Edition, p. 440.*

The above parallel proves that Mr. Dunning could not have

been the author of the letter to Lord Mansfield; but the extract from Junius contains strong evidence that it was written by Lord Chesterfield. The impiety of the writer is discernible in the comparison he has drawn between the life of the Saviour of mankind and the questionable decorum of St. James's.

"It is matter of surprise," observes the editor of the pamphlet to a Brigadier-General, "that in so many letters Junius should not have written a sentence or a word that has hitherto done more with respect to his identity than supply matter for conjecture and enquiry. Attempts at concealment had before been made, but never, perhaps, with such entire success. Some favourite topic or some ruling subject of the imagination developed in his letters—a peculiar phrase, nay, even an unusual or a colloquial expression would, it might be supposed, have led to the discovery of the author.*"—*Intro.*, p.3.

* In answer to this objection we shall confine ourselves here to only four instances of peculiarity of expression rarely to be met with in any writer—certainly in none who have been suspected as Junius or the examples would have been quoted for their singularity. These expressions are "whiffing," "to whittle," "Intendment," "Hospital of Incurables."

Two out of the four of these are selected from the posthumous works of Lord Chesterfield.

JUNIUS.

Will any officer of rank condescend to receive orders from a little WHIFFLING broker to whom he may formerly, perhaps, have given half-a-crown for negotiating an hundred pound stock or sixpence for a lottery ticket."—*Vol. III.*, p. 427.

"For shame, my Lord Barrington, send this WHIFFLING broker back to the mystery he was bred in.—*Ib.* p. 444.

2.—"I am so clearly satisfied that Lord Mansfield has done an act not warranted by law, and that the enclosed argument is not to be answered (besides that I find lawyers concur with me) that I am inclined to expect he may himself acknowledge it as an oversight and endeavour TO WHITTLE IT AWAY TO NOTHING."—*Private Letter to Lord Chatham. Corres.*, Vol. IV., p. 192.

3.—"Whether according to the true meaning and INTENDMENT of the laws of England relative to bail, &c."—*Ib.*

"If there be a judge or lawyer of any note in Westminster Hall who shall be daring enough to affirm that according to the true INTENDMENT of the laws of England, &c."—*Vol. II.*, p. 442.

4.—"He advertises for patients, collects all the diseases of the heart, and turns a royal palace into AN HOSPITAL OF INCURABLES."—*Vol. II.*, p. 439.

CHESTERFIELD.

1.—"A constant smirk upon the face and a WHIFFLING activity of the body are strong indications of futility."—*Letter to his Son*, Aug. 10, 1749.

2.—"I can tell you in general that the Dutch have not WHITTLED down their engagements in this as they have constantly done in all former acts of accession," &c.—*Unpublished Letter to Benj. Keene*, Feb. 22nd, 1732.

3.—"Yet I must acknowledge them to be the properest authors to answer the true meaning and INTENDMENT of the bill."—*Works*, Vol. II., p. 103.

As far as regards the majority of persons suspected, these observations may be said strictly to apply; and even where a resemblance in style and mode of expression has been traced, the evidence is still inconclusive, because the comparisons are selected from publications written either at a *later date* than the letters, or *after* their style had become fashionable among political writers. If it were worth while to take up the time of the reader with evidence of this nature, when more important proofs are in reserve, *a volume* of quotations might be selected from the writings of Lord Chesterfield, much stronger in testimony of the authorship of the letters than the whole mass of comparisons that have, from time to time, been adduced in favour of the pretensions of the various candidates; but such evidence will never convince the public UNLESS BORNE OUT BY AN UNBROKEN SERIES OF FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES THAT WILL APPLY TO NO OTHER PERSON THAN HIM WHO SHALL BE CHARGED WITH HAVING WRITTEN THE LETTERS.

Commentators on Junius (and more particularly those who fancy that they have discovered the author) in general take only a partial view of the character of that writer. Like sectarians in religion they select a few passages which seem to favour their opinions, and reject, as spurious or doubtful, those *texts* and *doctrines* which, if dispassionately examined, would prove fatal to each particular claim. The uniform practice of resorting to this unfair mode of enquiry has induced many to doubt the authenticity of the early letters in the miscellaneous collection, because many of these have been found irreconcilable with the character and connections of nearly every one who has been suspected. These doubts have lately been almost confirmed by the publication of two private letters from Junius to Lord Chatham, found among his lordship's papers after his death. That *both* these letters were written by Junius can scarcely be doubted from

"Though the colour be deficient the guilt is the same in the INTENDMENT of the law."—*Ib.* p. 249.

4.—"This club of worthy gentlemen might be not improperly called an HOSPITAL OF INCURABLES," &c.—*Ib.* p. 212.

"To withdraw in the fullness of his power and the utmost gratification of his ambition from the House of Commons (which procured him his power and which could alone ensure it to him) and go into that HOSPITAL OF INCURABLES, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable that nothing but proof positive could make me believe it: but true it is.—*Letter to his Son, Aug. 1, 1766.*

the *exact* resemblance of the autographs as portrayed in the *fac similes* given in the Chatham Correspondence. That Junius could have written such *flattering* letters, and at the same time have held up Lord Chatham as an object of detestation and contempt appears altogether incredible. There was but *one man*, perhaps, at that time (possessing the talents and opportunities of Junius) who would have ventured to perpetrate so vile an artifice, or who had dissimulation enough to write the *first* private letter to Lord Chatham, and that man we are prepared to prove, as far as circumstances can prove anything, was LORD CHESTERFIELD.

In prosecuting this charge against his lordship, it is not the intention of the writer to pass over any of the miscellaneous letters contained in the edition of 1814. To neglect *any one* of these contributions to the *Public Advertiser* would be to break the chain of evidence that connects these writings with Lord Chesterfield, and would render incomplete the development of the motives and causes which impelled the author to proceed in his labours, under his well known signature of *Junius*.

CHAPTER II.

Lord Chesterfield is said to have retained his *memory* (which is mentioned as surprising for its excellence) and his *presence of mind* to his latest breath.—LORD MAHON.

BEFORE we proceed with the evidence that is to prove Lord Chesterfield was the writer of the Letters of Junius, the public may reasonably expect that *two* very important objections should be answered.

It has been said that “*considering his lordship’s advanced age and bodily infirmities,*” and that “*uninfluenced by any personal animosity for engaging in the task,* such a supposition must be groundless.”

We shall for the present confine ourselves to the first and most important of these objections, because, *if it were true* that Lord Chesterfield’s “age” or “infirmity” at the time that the letters were written was such as to present to all appearance a *physical impossibility*—depriving his lordship of the *power* of writing the letters of Junius, then any *motives* brought forward, *however strong they might be*, would fail to convince, and this inquiry would meet the fate of others which have occasionally attracted the attention, without having satisfied the curiosity, of the public.

The great age of Lord Chesterfield, it must be confessed, *does* at first sight present a formidable objection to the supposition that he was employed in writing the letters of Junius, and his bodily infirmities add great weight to a difficulty *apparently* so insurmountable. The energetic epistles of Junius have so long been regarded as the productions of a vigorous mind, of one ardent in the pursuit of political power, and associated with others both in the composition of the letters and in the contrivances to elude detection, that nothing but the strongest circumstances will remove

the prejudice and convince the public that Lord Chesterfield was the author.

The first period during which it may be said that Lord Chesterfield was incapable of supporting the character of Junius was in the summer of 1767, when his lordship was so ill that fears were entertained of his recovery.

Lady Hervey notices this alarming illness in a letter to Mr. Morris, dated 6th September, 1767, and expresses her uneasiness as to the result, and although Mr. Hawkins *assured* her that Lord Chesterfield had no "distemper" but *weakness*, (the consequence of his late malady), yet Lady Hervey declared she was not *satisfied* with the account she *heard* of him.

The writer does not here intend to insinuate that Lord Chesterfield was not *seriously ill* in the *summer* of 1767, for the event is CORROBORATED by the *chasm* in Junius's correspondence during the greater part of the months of *July** and *August*, but it is very doubtful whether Lord Chesterfield suffered such *extreme debility* in *September* as is represented by Lady Hervey in her letter of that date: for if Lord Chesterfield wrote the first three letters of Junius in *April*, *May*, and *June*, 1767, and contemplated renewing his correspondence with Woodfall as soon as his health would permit, he was too able a politician not to encourage a report so favourable to his security, and which could scarcely fail to avert suspicion by the *apparent impossibility* of his being occupied in such pursuits.

From the 24th June to the 16th September, 1767, only *one* letter has been traced to Junius, dated 25th August, in which the writer apologizes to Woodfall for his silence by saying that "he had been for some time in the country or he would have heard sooner from him." In October Lord Chesterfield had rallied and we find *three* letters in that month from Junius. In November Lord Chesterfield went to Bath and *no letter* from Junius appeared; but in December, while his lordship was at Bath *three* letters were published. The first, a *bonâ fide* speech of Mr. Burke's, sent by

* On the 9th July, 1767, Lord Chesterfield flattered himself that he had escaped the prevailing epidemic then raging in London, called by the genteel name of "*l'influenza*." It was between the date of that letter and the 6th September that Lord Chesterfield was seized with the malady that deprived him of the use of his lower extremities.

Junius for insertion in the Public Advertiser. The second a communication without any signature which has little to authenticate it, except its having been acknowledged by Woodfall as coming from his correspondent C; and the third a short note under the signature DOWNRIGHT, in which the writer accuses Lord Chatham of being the cause of the great increase in the national debt. There is nothing in these three communications which would prevent Lord Chesterfield sending them from Bath by a *safe hand* for insertion in the Public Advertiser. They required no other answer but such as Woodfall could convey in his notices to his correspondents.*

It has never, perhaps, occurred to many that the very circumstances which seemed to preclude the *possibility* of Lord Chesterfield being Junius were his chief protection, and that, like the Roman patriot whose name he adopted, his lordship feigned an imbecility the better to conceal his purpose. We must not, therefore, be surprised that Lord Chesterfield should complain to his friend the Bishop of Waterford that his understanding "tottered" and that his memory "fumbled." But from others we have no such record of his mental decay; on the contrary, we learn that he retained his wit and vivacity to the last, and that even the pain and suffering which he endured at the close of life (March, 1773) could not overcome the serenity of his mind.†

His plea of ignorance of political events and of the intrigues of parties is also no better to be relied on—for (supposing him to have been Junius), he would be compelled to assume the semblance of ignorance or indifference in order to avert suspicion, and,

* On the subject of the first of these communications (Burke's speech) Woodfall *twice* resorted to that means of communicating with the writer, and by his respectful language he shewed even at that early date how much he felt *honoured* by the contributions of "his friend and correspondent C":—

"C's favour is come to hand, and we think our paper much honoured by his correspondence. He may be assured we shall take every possible means to deserve a continuance of it."

And the next day he made an apology for its non-appearance:—

"We most heartily wish to oblige our valuable correspondent C, but his last favour is of so delicate a nature that we dare not insert it, unless we are permitted to make such changes in certain expressions as may take off the immediate offence without hurting the meaning."

† The editor of the Suffolk Correspondence observes "that the *collection* begins and ends with Lord Chesterfield:—his letters are marked with his characteristic elegance and wit, and his last letter is as gay as his first written 55 years before."—*Vol. I., p. 32.*

in some instances perhaps, to escape detection. On these occasions a letter to the Bishop of Waterford, written in a trembling hand and indicative of a feeble mind, would (if opened at the post office) be considered as sufficient evidence of Lord Chesterfield's *deplorable* condition. In one of these letters, dated 12th August, 1771, his lordship describes, in mournful accents, his rapid decline "towards second childhood and mere oblivion."

"I am most prodigiously old," writes his lordship, "and every month of the calendar adds at least a year to my age. My hand trembles to that degree that I can hardly hold my pen. My understanding stutters, and my memory fumbles."

And in a note to a subsequent letter we are told by the editor that the autograph was so *feebly* written as to require another hand to be passed over the *trembling* outline to make it legible.*

Notwithstanding these acknowledged indications of his approaching demise, his lordship neglected to make his WILL—a circumstance so extraordinary that it has not escaped animadversion. *That* important document was not prepared till Junius had published his last letter, entitled *Memoirs of Lord Barrington*. His lordship's will is dated 4th June, 1772, and is written on seven sheets of parchment, comprising a codicil dated 11th February, 1773. Each sheet bears the signature "Chesterfield," written in a *firm*, and (notwithstanding its characteristic elegance) a *bold* hand.

Strange! that in 1771 Lord Chesterfield's hand should tremble to that degree that he could scarcely hold his pen; yet in 1772 and 1773 he should be able to subscribe his name to *parchment* in a style that would have been creditable to his proficiency in penmanship at the age of forty-five! We shall leave the reader to form his comments on this extraordinary circumstance, and pass on to the next fact connected with the age and infirmities of Lord Chesterfield.

On the 16th March, 1769, Lord Chesterfield apologizes to Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope for being obliged to use another hand to acknow-

* Surely it would have been less trouble if his lordship's secretary had made a fair copy of the letter, and obtained to it his lordship's signature. The stratagem in this instance seems to have been carried too far, and may justly excite suspicion as to the accuracy of the deponent's account of his *wretched* condition.

ledge the receipt of her letter of the 27th February, and in a letter to Alderman Faulkner, of the 25th of the same month, he says, "A violent inflammation in my eyes, which is not yet *quite* removed, hindered me from acknowledging your last letter."

So far, therefore, as relates to the early part of March, 1769, Lord Chesterfield seems to have been in such a condition as to render him totally unfit to carry on the correspondence as Junius in the Public Advertiser.

Now let us inquire what happened to Junius at this precise period, and see how far *his* situation corresponded with that of Lord Chesterfield.

Early in April, 1769, in consequence of the temporary cessation of Junius's letters, "A monody" was published on the supposed *death* of Junius, whom the poet imagines had fallen

"Midst arrows dipp'd in ministerial gold."

Junius felt it necessary to notice this calumny, and sent the following note to the printer of the Public Advertiser, dated 12th April, 1769.

"MR. WOODFALL,—The monody on the supposed death of Junius is not the less poetical for being founded in fiction. In some parts of it there is a promise of genius which deserves to be encouraged. My letter on Monday will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought off by the Ministry. It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm *I am in earnest*, because I am convinced, as far as *my* understanding is capable of judging, that the present Ministry are driving this country to destruction, and you, I think, may be satisfied that my *rank* and *fortune* place me above a common bribe.—JUNIUS."

After the publication of this letter Junius resumed his pen, but, if we are to credit Lord Chesterfield, "the inflammation in his eyes" still prevented *him* from answering his correspondent's letters. "The only reason," writes Lord Chesterfield, on the 9th July, 1769, "that I had for not writing sooner was that I could not, which I dare say you will allow to be a sufficient one. I have for the last *three months* had an inflammation in my eyes, which hindered me from either writing or reading, and this is almost the

first, as well as the most pleasing service which they have done me."

Here is a prevarication, or, to speak in gentler terms, an inaccuracy as to the duration of his lordship's affliction. His first apology was on the 12th March, and on the 25th he was *nearly* recovered, but on the 9th July it appears he had had a relapse, and had been deprived of the power of reading and writing for the last *three months*. People suffering under such visitations are apt to keep a better reckoning.

But it may be well to examine whether Junius was quite *at his ease* at the date of Lord Chesterfield's *last* letter, 9th July, 1769.

On the 15th July, 1769, Junius wrote to Woodfall requesting him to say candidly whether he knew or suspected who he was? and at the same time instructed him to address his answer to Mr. William Middleton, to be left at the bar of the New Exchange Coffee House, and on the 21st July he cautions Woodfall to take care of Swinney who had "had the impudence to go to Lord George Sackville to ask him whether or no he was Junius," also to change the address to Mr. John Fretley at the same coffee house, where it was absolutely impossible that he should be known.

These references to the private letters of Junius distinctly connect that writer's *fears* of discovery with Lord Chesterfield's *return* of the painful inflammation in his eyes which he took care to communicate to the Bishop of Waterford only a few days *before* Junius so anxiously inquired of Woodfall whether he knew or suspected who he was!

But the sympathy that seemed to exist between the fears of Junius and the infirmities of Lord Chesterfield did not end here. It is recorded by Horace Walpole that about this time Junius wrote privately to Mr. George Grenville, desiring him to desist from making further inquiries, and that at a proper time he would reveal himself. The knowledge of this circumstance is said to have been obtained from Sir John Irwine, who was on a visit at Wootton (the seat of Mr. G. Grenville) when the letter from Junius arrived. But another letter was sent to Wootton *at that time* written by Lord Chesterfield to Sir John Irwine, (and if we are correct in our opinion that *both* letters were from the same hand) this was a masterpiece of dissimulation which few but so bold a politician as Lord Chesterfield would have had the courage to put in practice. The design

of this letter seems to have been to convince the party at Wootton that their friend, Lord Chesterfield, could not be the author of Junius. The letter is dated 6th August, 1769. After touching slightly on the *faction* and *sedition* spirit of the times (without referring to Junius* who was then in the zenith of his popularity) which his lordship says shocked all sober thinking people, he breaks off with great seeming indifference. "But enough of politics, which from long disuse and seeing them at present only remotely and through a mist, I must necessarily talk absurdly about." Then follows the account of his own health which (as in similar cases when Junius was hard run) is deplorable enough.

"As to my own decayed carcass which you so kindly inquire after, I can only tell you that it crumbles away daily. My eyes are still so bad that they are of little use to a deaf man who lived by reading alone. Many other physical ills crowd upon me, and I have drained Pandora's box without finding hope at the bottom. The taxes that nature lays upon old age are very heavy, and I would rather that death would distraint at once than groan long under the burthen."

It was at this critical conjuncture that Junius publicly declared that he had not the honour of being *personally* known to Mr. George Grenville. "A truly singular assertion," observes the editor of the letters, "when taken in connection with the fact that Mr. Grenville of all the political characters of the day appears to have been our author's favourite. He voluntarily omits every opportunity of censuring him, and readily embraces every occasion of defending and extolling his conduct and principles."

If the editor had compared the private letters of Junius at this time with the date of the letter in the Public Advertiser, wherein this singular assertion was introduced, he would have seen the *motive* of the writer in thus disclaiming a *personal* acquaintance with Mr. Grenville. Lord Chesterfield's letter to Sir John Irwine was sent to Wootton *eight days* after the public declaration from Junius that Mr. Grenville was personally unknown to him, and these two circumstances probably diverted for awhile the suspicions of the Grenville party from Lord Chesterfield.

* It is remarkable that Lord Chesterfield never mentioned *Junius* in any of his letters, although he did not think *Wilkes* below his notice.

It is not pretended that there is no foundation in truth in the excuse which Lord Chesterfield made to his correspondents in *March*, 1769, for the incapacity of Lord Chesterfield is borne out by the *fact* that Junius had disappeared, and his absence had given rise to the monody on his supposed *death*, but that Lord Chesterfield should be just recovering from a relapse, at the very time that Junius was alarmed by the inquiries of Swinney and the still more dangerous surmises of his *friends* at Wootton is something more than suspicious. It will also occur to the reader, that if Lord Chesterfield was engaged in writing the letters of Junius, some excuse must be invented to account for his remissness in his private correspondence, and this plea of blindness, founded in fact in the first instance (brought on probably by his lengthened correspondence with Sir W. Draper, in February), was afterwards resorted to for the purpose of keeping his acquaintance in the dark as to the nature of his pursuits, and at the same time furnished a plausible excuse for the almost total seclusion in which Lord Chesterfield passed that part of his life in which the letters of Junius were written.

So far we have endeavoured to shew what reliance is to be placed on Lord Chesterfield's *melancholy* description of his infirmities at the time that Junius was publishing his letters. We shall now inquire whether his lordship's testimony against himself is borne out, either by his writings, or by the evidence of his contemporaries, and whether the wretched account of his "decayed carcass," and his "candid confession" of the corresponding decline in his mental faculties have not, to serve a particular purpose, been greatly exaggerated.

After Lord Chesterfield's recovery in 1767, we find that he gave his friends a more cheerful account of the general state of his health, than he had been in the habit of doing for some years. "I have a good appetite, a good digestion, and good sleep. You will perhaps ask me what more I would have. I answer that I would have a great deal more if I could. I would have the free use of my legs and all my members, but this I know is past praying for."—*Letter to Dr. Monsey, December, 1767.*

This may be considered a fair statement of Lord Chesterfield's *bodily* health, during the period that Junius's letters were in the course of publication. It was only *occasionally* and *under peculiar*

circumstances, that his lordship complained of the sad inroads, which time had made in the powers of his mind and body.

In November, 1766, (only a few months before the first letter of Junius was published), Horace Walpole (writing in the character of Lady Suffolk's maid) thus chides his lordship for complaining that he was growing old.

"She says and so says Mister Rusil our butler that your lord may be ashamed of himself, so he may, to say that he grows old for he niver was spittlier in his born days."

His Lordship's sprightly answer to this humorous epistle shews that neither his wit nor his vivacity justified the querulous tone, which from long habit he so frequently assumed in his familiar letters.

But to come to more serious evidence of Lord Chesterfield's ability, to write at a very advanced age, we find on referring to the recent edition of his letters that "the account of Lord Bute's administration," was written in 1764, when Lord Chesterfield was in his seventieth year, and that the best written and most valuable of his admonitory essays was not undertaken till *after* Junius had closed his correspondence with Woodfall; for in that admirable "Advice" Lord Chesterfield alludes to the provision he had made in his *will* in favour of his godson on his return to England.* Lord Chesterfield's *will*, it will be remembered, was not signed till the 4th June, 1772.

We have in addition to this unquestionable proof of the powers of Lord Chesterfield's mind, the unanimous testimony of his lordship's contemporaries, who affirm that his *mental faculties* remained unimpaired "to his latest breath." Even his *memory* and *presence of mind*, that in others are so apt to give such unwelcome indications of approaching age were true to him to the last.

But it has been asserted that Junius was in full possession of his *bodily*, as well as his mental faculties, when the letters were written. How this can be *proved* till the author has been discovered is difficult to imagine, for Junius has given a different picture of himself. "Alas! his *age* and *figure* would do but little

* Mr. A. Stanhope was sent by Lord Chesterfield to Leipsic, in 1768, under the care of Mr. D'Eyverdun, an ex-clerk, who had recently been *dismissed* from the Secretary of State's Office, but who, it appears, had found favour in the sight of Lord Chesterfield.

credit to his partner," and "In truth he saw no connection between *Junius* and a *minuet*."

Although this may be said to be only a plausible evasion intended to mislead his correspondent, there are still many *inadvertent* expressions in the letters of *Junius*, which will not admit of such interpretation.

He seldom addresses a correspondent that he does not bid them *farewell* or take leave of them *for ever*.

"I want rest most severely, and am going to take it in the country for a few days."

"Yet after I had *blinded myself* with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history——"

"Do not think that I solicit new employment. I am overcome with the slavery of writing."

Horne Tooke (presuming that *Junius* was in full possession of health and spirits) ridiculed the importance, which that writer attached to his labours.

"I congratulate you, sir, on the recovery of your wonted style, *though it has cost you a fortnight. I compassionate your labour* in the composition of your letters."

In a letter to Mr. Wilkes, dated 7th September, 1771, *Junius*, speaking of annual parliaments, says, "Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and IF I LIVE will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation by arguments," &c.

And in his Dedication he makes use of the same expression, but under still more remarkable circumstances, for he refers to the approaching dissolution of Parliament, *which must necessarily take place within two years*; yet *Junius* doubts *whether he shall live to witness that event*.

"You are roused at last to a sense of your danger. The remedy will *soon* be in your power. IF JUNIUS LIVES you shall *often* be reminded of it."

In the early letters of *Junius*, before there can be supposed to be any reason for concealing *his age*, he treats the Duke of Grafton (who was then in his 34th year) as "a mere boy, notwithstanding the down upon his chin," and bids him cultivate the company of women of experience.

This contempt for men in the prime of life savours strongly of

the overbearing presumption of an octogenarian who will allow none to have experience but those who have passed the age of profiting by it.

“After *long experience* of the world,” says Junius, “I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy,” and in confirmation of this boast of *long experience*, the writer declared that he remembered the great Walpolean battles.

And well, indeed, might Junius remember them, for in his letters under that signature he did little more than

“Fight these battles o’er again.”

The names of *some* of the performers were changed, but the fable was the same.

Were we not fearful of offending the enthusiastic admirers of Junius, we should be tempted to show that if the *spirit* imparted to his writings by their malevolence were taken away, they would, in many instances, present strong indications of senility. The constant repetition of the same idea—the frequent recurrence to the same subject, and the *impotent* threats held out against his adversaries, clearly demonstrate that the writer was not in the possession of the *full* and *vigorous* exercise of his *understanding*, although his *wit*, *memory*, and *presence* of mind were unimpaired. We know that we are upon tender ground, but we are supported in this opinion by the shrewd observations of the contemporaries of Junius.

We cannot conclude these observations without taking some notice of the *manual* labour which the letters of Junius imposed upon their author.

Although we are inclined to believe that the autographs preserved by Woodfall are in the handwriting of Junius, it is not to be inferred that the writer received *no* assistance in his labours, for he has admitted the fact that some person was employed in obtaining his letters and parcels from Woodfall. The person thus entrusted must have had the entire confidence of Junius, and we may safely assert that no person would be so likely to discharge this high trust faithfully (assuming Chesterfield was the author) as Mr. Dayrolles, who was at the time that Junius was writing his letters, almost the constant companion of Lord Chesterfield. The same confidential friend *might* also have been employed in

transcribing the manuscripts for publication. This, at least, was a part of the labours in the performance of which Lord Chesterfield could place the utmost reliance on the *skill* of Mr. Dayrolles.

In the spring of 1748 Lord Chesterfield received certain letters from an unknown correspondent at the Hague, signed Van-der Poll. Anxious to keep up the correspondence, his lordship wrote to Mr. Dayrolles on the subject. "If you should by accident know or hear of a Van-der Poll, pray let the person know that I am very much obliged to him for his correspondence, which is very instructive, and that I beg he will continue it. I do not know who he is, and if you should, do not send me his name in a letter by post, *for I know that most letters from and to me are opened.*"

The editor of the last edition of Lord Chesterfield's letters has revealed the secret of this mysterious letter writer, who, it appears, was no other than Mr. Dayrolles himself.

"It appears from Mr. Dayrolles's MSS," says Lord Mahon, "that the letters signed Van-der Poll, *in a disguised hand*, and in the French language were in reality from Mr. Dayrolles himself, as a secure channel of communication. A private letter in his own name, dated August 25, 1748, and sent over by Sir Matthew Decker, further shows that till that period Lord Chesterfield himself was not aware who Van-der Poll really was."

If Mr. Dayrolles could thus elude the keen penetration of Lord Chesterfield, with whom he was at that time in constant correspondence, the similarity of handwriting must lose much of the importance usually attached to it by persons anxious to prove the authorship of Junius. The truth is, that none of the fac-similes that have been brought into comparison with the autographs of Junius bear much resemblance. The handwriting of Junius is evidently greatly disguised, but it is more remarkable for its *elegance* and *precision* than for any peculiar form, either in the character of the letters, or the eccentricity of its general appearance. There is very little difference discernible between the fac-simile in the Chatham correspondence dated 2d January 1768, and the last letter which Woodfall received on the 19th January, 1773, though some have discovered a *tremulous* appearance in the latter, indicating the approaches of age. The initial C used in the private correspondence, is *precisely* that of Lord Chesterfield; and here it may be well to observe, that Junius, *as an old correspondent*

of *Woodfall*,* could not change his initial without creating suspicion, unless he had employed another hand to copy both his public and private letters, and even then his style might have betrayed him.

Too much stress, however, seems to have been laid upon this and another point in the discovery of the anonymous writer. A resemblance in *handwriting* and in *style* are, indeed, both material as *auxiliary tests*, but it is far more important to trace the *mind* of the writer in his prevailing modes of thinking, and in his inadvertent use of words and phrases as unconnected with the *style* of the author. For the autographs might not have been the handwriting of Junius, and the popular character of the *style* is chiefly attributable to the vindictive feeling which first gave birth to what the writer himself has emphatically called "The style of Junius."†

If Junius had been the sole depository of his own secret, and the gentleman who transacted the conveyancing part was put forth only as a *blind* to deceive the printer, how is the circumstance to be explained that at certain times it was *impossible* for Junius to obtain his letters from the coffee houses? The usual means of getting possession of these parcels was to send a porter to the coffee house while Junius or his *friend* waited at a convenient distance till the porter returned, and in doing this the author himself would run no more risk of discovery than by entrusting a confidential friend with so important a commission. We are, therefore, led to infer that it was not so much the *rank* and *notoriety* as the *age* and *infirmary* of Junius that occasioned the difficulties so fre-

* There is reason to believe that Lord Chesterfield was a contributor to the *Public Advertiser* long before the date of the earliest letter hitherto traced to Junius, and that the anecdotes published at that time of Lord Chatham's "fall up stairs" and Charles Townshend's "pain in his side" were from the pen of Lord Chesterfield:—

"I do not know" (writes his lordship in 1765) "whether you have the *Daily Advertiser* and the *Public Advertiser* in which all the political letters are inserted and some very well written ones on both sides, but I know that they amuse me *tant bien que mal* for an hour or two every morning."

The interest which Lord Chesterfield here acknowledged he felt in the political disputes of 1765, is indicative of that *cacoethes scribendi* which so prominently distinguished his lordship throughout his political career. Nor is it too much to presume that Lord Chesterfield would make choice of *one* of the above named papers should *circumstances* ever induce him again to enter the lists as a political writer.

† The first letter that may properly be considered as written in the "style of Junius," is to the Duke of Grafton, April 23, 1768. This letter is also remarkable as being the first *personal* address from the pen of Junius.

quently adverted to in his letters to Woodfall. The absence of his friend at times would cause this interruption in his correspondence with his printer, for in the case of a letter or parcel being deposited at the coffee house by Woodfall, it required the *personal* interference of Junius or his friend to obtain it.

There is one circumstance at the close of Junius's correspondence with his printer that seems to apply to the intimacy which at that time subsisted between Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Dayrolles, but as this involves an incident connected with the publication of the genuine edition of the letters, we must go back as far as the year 1771.

On the 17th December Junius gave directions to Woodfall to prepare three copies of his edition of the letters, one of which was to be bound in vellum, and lettered Junius 1-2, as handsomely as possible, the edges gilt. In his *next* letter he informs Woodfall that he has a long *paper* ready for publication, and he asks Woodfall whether he can have *two* proofs struck off without any one knowing what was going forward except the composer, as the letter was not to appear till the morning of the meeting of Parliament. On the publication of the Chatham correspondence (1838) it was discovered that *one* of these proofs had been forwarded with a letter from Junius to Lord Chatham; but it seems that Lord Chatham thought proper to take no notice of this communication, for the *proof* was found among his lordship's papers. There can be very little doubt, therefore, that the vellum bound books were intended for Lord Chatham, but as his lordship had disregarded Junius's application, it is probable that the author took no further trouble about that copy of his works. For in his letter of the 5th March, 1772, he says, "If the vellum books are not yet bound I would wait for the index; if they are, let me know by a line in the P.A. When they are ready they may be safely left in the same place as last night." But in his *next* letter, two months later, he writes, "I am in no manner of hurry about the books;" and the following day he desired Woodfall to recall the communication left at the accustomed place:—"At present it would be difficult for me to receive it. When the books are ready a Latin verse will be sufficient." After this we hear no more of any parcels having been received by Junius from Woodfall. It is not improbable, therefore, that the vellum bound books remained in the hands of

Woodfall, and that the circumstance of their having been thus bound at the express desire of Junius induced the printer to keep them as a pattern, and this will account for similar copies having been found in the libraries of so many persons, which from time to time has occasioned so much speculation.

It was about the time that Junius felt so much difficulty in obtaining his parcels from Woodfall that, it is presumed, Mr. Dayrolles left Lord Chesterfield, for, in September, 1772, Lord Chesterfield wrote to his friend that, for the last *four months*, he had been labouring under a diarrhoea, which Dr. Warren had not been able to cure. This will account for the abrupt termination of the writer's correspondence with Lord Barrington, to whom Junius had promised to address *sixteen* letters that were then ready for publication.

We have dwelt longer on this subject, perhaps, than may be thought necessary, but as Lord Chesterfield's advanced age, and consequent infirmities, constitute the only objection that can be raised to his pretensions to the authorship of Junius, it may be considered highly important to remove this *primâ facie* impediment, that the reader may be induced to examine more attentively the facts that are to prove that he alone was qualified in every other respect to sustain the character of JUNIUS.

CHAPTER III.

Wrongs are often *forgiven*, but *contempt* never is; our pride remembers it for ever.*—CHESTERFIELD.

Injuries may be atoned for and *forgiven*, but *insults* admit of no compensation; they degrade the mind in its own esteem and force it to recover its level by revenge.—JUNIUS.

THERE is yet another objection that has been opposed against the supposition that Lord Chesterfield was the author of the letters of Junius. It has been asserted that *no cause whatever existed* that could induce his lordship at the advanced age of seventy-three to re-appear before the public as an anonymous political writer.

So far from this being *true*, we shall proceed to shew that not only sufficient offence had been given by Lord Chatham and the ministry in 1767, but that the indignities and slights which Lord Chesterfield had endured from the parties so vehemently abused by Junius, were, in their nature, such as would admit of *no reparation*. His feelings as a parent had been deeply wounded, and however unjustifiable his ambitious views may be considered in regard to his unfortunate son, *he* did not the less feel inclined to resent any insult offered to him. This, it is well known, was at all times the vulnerable part of Lord Chesterfield's character, and it was here that Lord Chatham in 1767 (perhaps unwittingly) struck the first blow, which was shortly followed by another source of uneasiness inflicted by the Shelburne party; but it was reserved for the

* This sentiment was first uttered by Lord Chesterfield in the House of Lords in 1740, and was much admired at the time for its delicacy (see Maty's Memoirs, p. 174). It occurs in many of the letters of Junius under a variety of forms of expression. "A generous mind offended by an *insult* equally signal and unprovoked, looks back to services long neglected, and with justice unites the claim arising from those services to the insult which of *right* demands a signal reparation." A sense of *injuries* coupled with *insult* seems ever to have been present in the mind of Junius.

Duke of Grafton to annihilate the last hope which Lord Chesterfield had of reinstating Mr. Stanhope in that rank of society from which he had been gradually receding from the moment that George the Third ascended the throne.

It would have been well, perhaps, for the peace of mind of the King if he had imitated the conduct of the Prussian monarch, who, upon the representation of some of his courtiers concerning the disadvantages of Mr. Stanhope's birth, answered with warmth, "Were he Lord Chesterfield's dog I would have him treated in the most distinguished manner." With such sentiments towards Lord Chesterfield, Geo. III. might have found a sincere friend and supporter, instead of a rancorous enemy under the mask of Junius.

We would here claim the patience of the reader to a portion of this inquiry that demands some attention, in order to trace the origin and progress of Junius's *discontent* and the gradual development of the *cause* of that writer's *hatred* of the Duke of Grafton.

Towards the close of the year 1766, Lord Chesterfield applied to Lord Chatham desiring him to secure a seat in Parliament for Mr. Stanhope, and received the assurance of Lord Chatham that "he would make it his own affair, and give it in charge to the Duke of Grafton, whose province it was to make the parliamentary arrangement."

This promise was made to Lord Chesterfield in Dec. 1766; on the 19th Dec., 1767, (*eight months* after Junius's first letter) Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son:—

"You ask me questions concerning Lord Chatham which neither I, nor, I believe, anybody but himself can answer; however, I will tell you all I know and all that I guess concerning him. This time *twelvemonth* he was here (Bath), and in good health and spirits, except now and then some little twinges of the gout. We saw one another four or five times at our respective houses, but for these last *eight months* he has been absolutely invisible to his most intimate friends, *les sous ministres*, he would receive no letter, nor so much as open any packet on business."

From this it appears that *four* months had elapsed from the promise given by Lord Chatham to the first appearance of Junius, and that the *date* of that writer's first letter (28th April, 1767)

corresponds exactly with the period that Lord Chatham became invisible to his most intimate friends, and during the subsequent *eight* months "would receive no letter, nor so much as open any packet on business."

In the meantime (that is to say, during the spring and autumn of 1767, while the earlier letters of Junius were in the course of publication) Lord Chesterfield, not being able to obtain any intelligence from Lord Chatham, had endeavoured to *purchase* a seat in parliament for Mr. Stanhope, but he had relied too long on the promise given by Lord Chatham, 1766. The opportunity had passed by—all the marketable boroughs had been disposed of, and his lordship's only hope *now* was, that Lord Chatham might yet keep his word. He therefore again requested an interview, and though denied admittance, he seems to have entertained a hope that on his return to town he should be able to succeed. It was during this interval of suspense that Lord Chatham received the first anonymous letter from Junius, dated 2d January, 1768. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with that letter is, that only a few days previous, Junius had again expressed his resentment against Lord Chatham. A short letter was published in the Public Advertiser, on the 22d Dec., 1767, under the signature of DOWNRIGHT,* in which the author attributes the alarming increase of the national debt, to Lord Chatham, and concludes by saying, "I cannot bear to see so much incense offered to an idol who so little deserves it."

To account for this apparently inconsistent conduct in Junius, we must refer to Lord Chesterfield's letter of the 19th Dec., 1767, wherein it will be seen that his lordship had a second time been *repulsed* in his attempt to obtain an interview. The *short petulant* letter of Downright may therefore fairly be ascribed

* "22nd Dec., 1767.

"MR. WOODFALL,—Your correspondent of yesterday, Mr. Macaroni, in his account of the new ministerial arrangements has thrust in a laboured bombast panegyrick on the Earl of Chatham, in which he tells us "that this country owes more to him than it can ever repay. Now, Mr. Woodfall, I entirely agree with Mr. Macaroni, that this country *does* owe more to Lord Chatham than it can ever repay, for to him we owe the greatest part of our national debt, and THAT I am sure we never can repay. I mean no offence to Mr. Macaroni nor any of your *gentlemen* authors who are so kind as to give us citizens an early peep behind the political curtain, but I cannot bear to see so much incense offered to an idol, who so *little* deserves it.

"I am, yours, &c., DOWNRIGHT.

to the hasty ebullition of Lord Chesterfield's disappointment. The subsequent conduct of Junius confirms this; for from the date of Downright's letter (Dec. 22nd, 1767,) to the 16th Feb., 1768, *Junius held no correspondence with Woodfall*. It was during this suspension of the labours of Junius that Lord Chesterfield informed his son of his unsuccessful attempt to purchase a seat in Parliament. "I spoke to a borough jobber, and offered him five-and-twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat in Parliament, but he laughed at my offer and said that there was no such thing as a borough to be had now. * * * *

This, I confess, has *vexed* me a good deal, and made me the more impatient to know whether Lord Chatham has done anything in it, which I shall know when I go to town, as I *propose* to do in about a fortnight."—*Letter to his Son, dated 19th Dec., 1767.*

The private letter of Junius to Lord Chatham preceded Lord Chesterfield's return only two days. This extraordinary letter*

* "Junius to the Earl of Chatham. *Private and secret, to be opened by Lord Chatham only.*

"London, January 2, 1768.

"My Lord,—If I were to give way to the sentiments of respect and veneration which I have always entertained for your character, or to the warmth of my attachment to your person, I should write a longer letter than your lordship would have time or inclination to read. But the information which I am going to lay before you, will, I hope, make a short one not unworthy your attention. I have an opportunity of knowing something, and you may depend on my veracity. During your absence from administration, it is well known that not one of the ministers has either adhered to you with firmness, or supported, with any degree of steadiness, those principles on which you engaged in the King's service. From being their idol at first, their veneration for you has gradually diminished, until, at last, they have absolutely set you at defiance. The Chancellor, on whom you have particular reasons to rely, has played a sort of fast and loose game, and spoken of your lordship with submission or indifference, according to the reports he heard of your health, nor has he altered his language until he found you were really returning to town.

"Many circumstances must have made it impossible for you to depend much upon Lord Shelburne or his friends, besides, that *from his youth and want of knowledge*, he was hardly of weight by himself to maintain any character in the cabinet. The best of him is, perhaps, that he has not acted with greater insincerity to your lordship than to former connections.

"Lord Northington's conduct and character need no observation. A singularity of manners added to a perpetual affectation of discontent, has given him an excuse for declining all share in the support of government, and at last conducted himself to his great object, a very high title, considering the species of his merit, and an opulent retreat. Your lordship is best able to judge of what may be expected from this nobleman's gratitude.

"Mr. Conway, as your lordship knows by experience, is everything to everybody as long as by such conduct he can maintain his ground. We have seen him in one day the humble prostrate admirer of Lord Chatham, the

was probably intended to awaken the jealousy of Lord Chatham and induce him to take a part in public affairs. If this had been accomplished Lord Chesterfield might have succeeded in obtaining an audience with Lord Chatham. But his lordship remained inflexible,—neither the private letter of Junius nor the earnest *entreaties* of the King could rouse Lord Chatham from his lethargy. He still guarded himself from intrusion under the *plea** of mental imbecility.

In bringing these *dates* and *facts* before the reader we flatter ourselves that we have solved the principal difficulty connected with the authorship of Junius, and that the early miscellaneous letters, in which Lord Chatham is so prominently distinguished, will no longer be considered inconsistent with the *character* and *peculiar circumstances* of the writer.

From the date of the private and confidential letter of the 2nd Jan., 1768, Lord Chatham is seldom mentioned by Junius. The

dearest friend of Rockingham and Richmond, fully sensible of the weight of the Duke of Bedford's party, no irreconcilable enemy to Lord Bute, and at the same time very ready to acknowledge Mr. Grenville's merit as a financier. Lord Hertford is a little more explicit than his brother, and has taken every opportunity of treating your lordship's name with indignity.

"But these are facts of little moment. The most considerable remains. It is understood by the public that the plan of introducing the Duke of Bedford's friends entirely belongs to the Duke of Grafton, with the secret concurrence, perhaps, of Lord Bute, but certainly without your lordship's consent, if not absolutely against your advice. It is also understood that if you should exert your influence with the King to overturn this plan, the Duke of Grafton will be strong enough with his new friends to defeat any attempts of that kind, or if he should not, your lordship will easily judge to what quarter his Grace will apply for assistance.

"My Lord, the man who presumes to give your lordship these hints admires your character without servility, and is convinced that if this country can be saved, it must be *saved* by Lord Chatham's spirit, by Lord Chatham's abilities."†

† It is a curious circumstance that in the year 1741 Lord Chesterfield received a similar compliment from the pen of Lord Chatham:—

"France by her influence and her arms, means to be sure to undo England and all Europe: by her air and climate she may do the reverse if they confirm the health of the only man who can save us."—*Chatham Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 2.

* The public in general believed that Lord Chatham was at this time *insane*, but his intimate friends and those about the Court often expressed their doubts upon this point. "I sent him my compliments (writes Lord Chesterfield in his letter of 19th Dec., 1767) and asked leave to wait upon him, but he sent me word that he was too ill to see anybody whatsoever. I met him frequently taking the air in his post chaise and he looked very well." See also the correspondence of Horace Walpole, George Selwyn, and Lady Hervey, in which similar doubts are expressed. Lord Chatham's *sudden* restoration and his subsequent conduct in parliament, favour the conjecture that he was only acting the "changeling" until a favourable opportunity should occur that he might again unite with his family in their opposition against government.

writer gradually transferred his resentment to the Duke of Grafton, and here we must again have recourse to Lord Chesterfield's correspondence to account for the change that came over the spirit of Junius. For hitherto his Grace had been *designedly spared* by his now implacable enemy.

On the 12th of March, 1768, Lord Chesterfield informed his son of the disappointment of his hopes of seeing him in parliament. "You will not be in this parliament, at least, not at the beginning of it. I relied too much upon Lord Chatham's promise above a year ago at Bath. He desired that I would leave it to him; that he would make it his own affair and give it in charge to the Duke of Grafton, whose province it was to make the parliamentary arrangements. This I depended upon, and I think with reason, but since that Lord Chatham has neither seen nor spoken to anybody and has been in the oddest way in the world. I sent to the Duke of Grafton to know if Lord Chatham had either spoken or sent to him about it, but he assured me that he had done neither; that all was full or rather running over at present; but that if he could crowd you in upon a vacancy he would do it with great pleasure. I am *extremely sorry* for this accident, for I am of a very different opinion from you about being in parliament, as no man can be of any consequence in this country who is not in it, and though one may not speak like a Lord Mansfield or a Lord Chatham, one may make a very good figure in a second rank. I do not pretend to give you any account of the present state of this country or ministry, not knowing nor guessing it myself."*

The parliament was dissolved on the day previous to the date of this letter, but Lord Chesterfield was not, perhaps, aware at that time of the extent of the mortification that awaited him.

In the "ministerial arrangement" Mr. Bradshaw, the private secretary of the Duke of Grafton, was returned for the *first time* a member of parliament for the borough of Bossigny.

The indignation of Junius at this period was uncontrollable. On the 23rd April a letter appeared in the Public Advertiser,

* This abrupt confession of ignorance of ministerial affairs from one who had hitherto been so alive to every political movement looks *suspicious*, and was probably intended to conceal from the curiosity of any one who might open his lordship's letter the designs of vengeance which he meditated against those who had offended him.

addressed to the Duke of Grafton, in which the private character of his Grace is openly attacked. This letter is remarkable not only as being the first *personal* address of Junius, but the first in which the name of Mr. Bradshaw is introduced, thus identifying the objects of Junius's resentment with the parties who were at *that time* the cause of Lord Chesterfield's disappointment and vexation. But Junius was not satisfied by this display of his vindictive feeling, another letter was inserted in the Public Advertiser *on the same day* in which the writer accuses the Duke of Grafton of duplicity and breach of faith in his capacity as a minister, and as if resolved that his Grace at least should not misunderstand from what quarter these invectives came, a third letter was published on the 1st July, in which the writer alludes in such distinct terms to the circumstance of Lord Chesterfield's late disappointment, and to the conduct of the Duke of Grafton on that occasion, that scarcely a doubt can remain on the subject. The excuses suggested by Junius to the Duke of Grafton in this letter, were probably the *exact words* employed by his Grace when he answered Lord Chesterfield's inquiry as to the long promised seat in parliament for Mr. Stanhope; and it seems evident that Mr. Bradshaw, the private secretary to the Duke of Grafton (now the successful rival of Mr. Stanhope) was the bearer of the unwelcome tidings to Lord Chesterfield.

July 1, 1768.

"To Master Harry, in Black Boy Alley,

— *At tu, simul obligasti*
Perfidum votis caput enigrescis
Atrior multo—

"The moment I heard you had given a positive promise to Lord Rockingham in my favour, *I did you the justice to be satisfied* that all my hopes and pretensions to succeed Mrs. ——— were at an end. But a second promise, which I understand you have lately given to another, revives my spirits, and makes me flatter myself that you mean me no harm. I have one chance less against me than I had, for your last resolution is certainly the one you will not abide by, so that at present there is nothing in my way but your engagement to Lord Rockingham, the bad effects of which I shall endeavour to remove by this letter. I feel as strongly

as you how much it would violate the consistency of your character to keep your word from any motive of probity or good faith; but if I can suggest to you the means of performing your first promise to Lord Rockingham, and yet continuing as great a rascal as you would wish to be, all objections on the score of integrity will be removed, and you will owe me no small obligation into the bargain. * *You are a mere boy, Harry*, notwithstanding the down upon your chin, and would do well to cultivate the friendship of women of experience. With all due submission to Miss Nancy's personal knowledge of the world, I believe she has not yet taught you the secret of keeping your word without hurting your principles. This is a science worthy of a superior genius; and, without a compliment, Harry, you have talents to improve it into a system of treachery, which, though it may shorten your natural life, will make your reputation immortal."

"In the first place, I presume, you will have no difficulty in breaking your word with Mrs. C——y; the whole distress lies in keeping it with your friend the Marquis. My advice is, therefore, that you should order Mr. Bradshaw to write to his lordship, and assure him, in the civilest terms, that *'circumstances which you had not foreseen—that it was with infinite concern—that his lordship's recommendation had such weight with you—that in any other instance—that you flattered yourself his lordship would be candid enough to distinguish between the minister and the man—but that in short you were so unfortunately situated, &c. &c. &c.'* Mr. Bradshaw's manner will make the message palatable; and it would not be amiss if he were to carry it himself. Having disengaged yourself from Lord Rockingham, you must at the same instant write me a letter of congratulation, and desire me to take possession immediately. By these expedients you will preserve all the duplicity and wayward humour of your character—you will have the merit and satisfaction of failing to two people—you will confer a favour without obliging any body, and your enemies give you credit for a conduct equally honourable to your morals and your understanding."

* The Duke of Grafton was in his 34th year, an age which Junius invariably considered far too young to be intrusted with the management of public affairs. The recommendation to cultivate the friendship of women of experience will remind the reader of Lord Chesterfield's system of education.

"Farewell, Harry, and believe me to be, with the most perfect contempt, yours,

"POMONA."

"P.S. If the place is to be given in trust for Miss Parsons, I beg leave to withdraw my pretensions, for I am determined not to suffer a woman to be quartered upon me, in any shape."

But the writer's indignation was still unappeased, and his anger against the Duke of Grafton and his "cream-coloured parasite" found vent in poetry as well as prose. The following stanzas were at this time sent by Junius to Woodfall for insertion in the Public Advertiser:*

HARRY AND NAN.

AN ELEGY IN THE MANNER OF TIBULLUS.

I.

Can Apollo resist or a poet refuse
When Harry and Nancy solicit the muse,
A statesman who makes the whole nation his care,
And a nymph who is almost as chaste as she's fair.

II.

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

* The original manuscript copy of this *jeu d'esprit* has been preserved among the autographs of Junius. It seems that Mr. H. S. Woodfall did not venture to insert the poem in the Public Advertiser, but by some means it found its way to Almon, who published it in the Political Register for 1768, Vol. II., p. 101. Whether Woodfall previously copied it by desire of Junius for some other paper, or whether Junius himself supplied the duplicate is uncertain. Almon published it without any comment.

The genuineness of this manuscript is unquestionable, since the autograph differs in no respect whatever from the numerous specimens that have been preserved. It is worthy also of remark that the copy now in the hands of Mr. H. D. Woodfall is a clean copy, and evidently transcribed from the rough draft of one who had not made this his first essay in verse. It exhibits the like neatness, care, and precision, which so eminently distinguish all the manuscripts of Junius. The only drawback to elegance in these documents is the shabby appearance of the paper on which some of the private letters are written, but this might have been one of the precautions which Junius thought necessary to adopt in communicating with his printer. His manuscripts for the press are usually written on common foolscap paper and his private letters on a folded half sheet of paper of a similar description.

III.

From fourteen to forty our provident Nan*
 Had devoted her life to the study of man,
 And thought it a natural change in her station

* * * * *

IV.

Secret service had wasted the national wealth,
 But now 'tis the price of the minister's health,
 An expense which the Treasury well may afford,

* * * * *

V.

So lucky was Harry that nothing could mend
 His choice of a mistress but that of a friend,—
 A friend so obliging and yet so sincere,
 With pleasure in one eye and t'other a tear.†

VI.

My friend hold the candle, the lovers debate,
 And among them God knows how they settle the state;
 Was there ever a nation so govern'd before,
 By a jockey, a gambler, a pimp, * * * * *

Those who have had an opportunity of reading Lord Chesterfield's poems will have no difficulty in recognising his lordship's style, so apparent in every line of the above stanzas.

* Miss Ann Parsons.

† Mr. Thomas Bradshaw.

"Mr. Bradshaw affirms upon his honour (and so may the gift of smiling never depart from him."—*Junius*, Vol. II., p. 247.

"That cream-coloured gentleman's tears, affecting as they are, carry consolation along with them. He never weeps but like an April shower with a lambent ray of sunshine upon his countenance."—*Ib.* p. 401.

The *smirking* countenance of Mr. Bradshaw excited in Junius an unconquerable disgust, but this feeling was not confined to that gentleman. The *blubbing utterance* of Lord North, the *unbroken melodious eloquence* of Mr. Laughlin McLeane, the *pipe* of Sir Fletcher Norton, the *whiffling activity* of Mr. Chamier, and the *want of that activity* in Tom Wheatley, were themes to which Junius delighted to recur. It would be tedious to refer to every passage in which Junius has thus inadvertently given proofs of his horror at the absence of the graces in any who opposed him. Nor did even those who resembled him in the polite accomplishments of a courtier escape animadversion. The *pliant* Barrington, the *obsequious* Bontetort, the *pompous* Suffolk, the *courteous* Hillsborough, and the *humble* Conway, were all equally offensive to the refined taste of Junius. None of these noblemen reached the standard of Junius's idea of the dignified deportment of a courtier or a gentleman.

But Lord Chatham and the Duke of Grafton were not the only persons who were censured by this writer during the *first months* of what may be called the *Life of Junius*. The Shelburnes, the Townshends, Lord Bute, and General Conway, with other members of the administration, often felt the keen irony of the great political satirist. And here we have the authority of Lord Chesterfield to prove that against *these* also he had cause to be offended. For his lordship had not only been kept in suspense as to the promise of a seat in parliament for Mr. Stanhope, but he had been annoyed by the ministry sending a person to fill Mr. Stanhope's place during his temporary absence from Dresden, and although Lord Chesterfield endeavoured to console his son (who was at that time suffering from severe illness) it is pretty clear from the *tone* of his lordship's letters that neither he nor Mr. Stanhope had been treated with much courtesy by the party then in power.

Lord Chesterfield's first letter on this subject is an answer to his son, who it appears had requested permission to leave Dresden for a time on account of his health:—"The day after I received your letter of the 21st past, I wrote to Lord Weymouth, and I send you his answer enclosed, from which (*though I have not heard from him since*) I take it for granted, and so may you, that his *silence* signifies his Majesty's consent to your request."

And in his next letter, dated 12th April, 1768, Lord Chesterfield wrote—

"I believe you have guessed the true reason of Mr. Keith's mission, but, by a *whisper* that I have since heard, Keith is rather inclined to go to Turin as Chargé d'Affaires. I forgot to tell you in my last that I was most positively assured that, the instant you return to Dresden, Keith should decamp. I am persuaded *they* will keep their word with me, as there is no one reason in the world why they should not. I will send your annual to Mr. Larpent in a fortnight, and pay the forty shillings a day quarterly if there should be occasion; for, in my private opinion, there will be no Chargé d'Affaires sent."

In this particular, however, Lord Chesterfield was mistaken. Mr. Keith remained at Dresden, much to the annoyance of Mr. Stanhope; and, after the death of that gentleman, obtained the honour of knighthood, and an appointment to a superior court.

We should dwell longer on the annoyances to which Lord

Chesterfield and his son were at this time subjected, if the CIRCUMSTANCE which led to the abandonment of all hope on the part of Lord Chesterfield, or desire of favours from the King and his Ministers, were not too clearly demonstrated by the *conduct* of Junius to render such a task necessary.

Mr. Stanhope died on the 16th November, 1768. The miscellaneous letters of Junius, which had for some months before appeared in rapid succession in the Public Advertiser, *immediately ceased*, and, after a lapse of two months,* (with the exception of one solitary encomiastic letter, addressed to Mr. Grenville), the author re-appeared on the 21st January, 1769, under his new and well-known signature of Junius.

It is not simply the circumstance that Lord Chesterfield had cause to be displeased with Lord Chatham, the Duke of Grafton, and the Court at the time that Junius began to write, that will, in itself, carry conviction home to Lord Chesterfield; for others, among the several factions of that period, felt themselves aggrieved, and were violent in their abuse against Government. Even Lord Chatham was calumniated by the disappointed patriots of the day. But the facts which separate Lord Chesterfield from every other discontented politician, are traceable in the *conduct of Junius towards the parties censured*, and these facts are supported by *dates* and *circumstances* that will scarcely admit of a parallel, or even of a plausible adverse interpretation. It has been shown that not only *sufficient cause* did exist at that time to rouse Lord Chesterfield's deepest indignation, but that **THE cause** itself is manifested in the unguarded exhibition of Junius's personal feelings, as well

* It may be here observed, that this is the *third* instance in which the suspension of the labours of Junius has been accounted for. The *first* interruption occurred during Lord Chesterfield's illness in the summer of 1767. The *second*, while Lord Chesterfield was expecting an interview with Lord Chatham in Jan., 1768, and this more ominous silence which took place immediately on the death of Mr. Stanhope. To these extraordinary coincidences may be added the abrupt termination of the letters to Lord Barrington in May, 1772, at the time that Lord Chesterfield was seized with a dangerous illness, and the still more remarkable silence of Junius after the 19th January, 1773; a circumstance that does not seem capable of explanation by any less event than the *death of the author*. Lord Chesterfield died (after a short illness) on the 24th March, 1773. On the 19th January Junius desired Woodfall to write if he had anything of moment to himself to communicate. The printer did not avail himself of this permission till the 8th March, when the first signal appeared in the Public Advertiser, indicating that a letter was ready for Junius. These signals were repeated for more than a month, but the mysterious author had in the meantime disappeared !!!

as by the *nature* of the abuse which he levelled in the true spirit of retaliation against his enemies.

The *piety* of St. James's, the *chastity* of the Princess Dowager, and the *spurious* descent of the Duke of Grafton are themes of the writer's constant and bitterest invectives. On these subjects he dwelt with a malignancy which no political offence—no difference of opinion or party feeling will either explain or justify. It was on these occasions, and these only, when a sense of his own wrongs was uppermost in his mind, that Junius forgot his accustomed *politeness*.

"In what language shall I address so black, so cowardly a tyrant. Thou worse than ONE of the Brunswicks and all the Stuarts."

This passage occurs in nearly the last letter to the Duke of Grafton, which Junius was induced to write in consequence of his Grace's refusal to allow the timber to be cut in Whittlebury Forest.* The frequent recurrence in this letter to the *origin* of the noble family of Grafton is equalled in absurdity only by the foulness of the terms employed.

"Now it appears that a grant of Charles the Second to one of his *bastards* is to be held sacred and inviolable."

"You asserted upon your honour that, in the grant of the ranger'ship of Whittlebury Forest made by Charles the Second (whom with a modesty that would do honour to Mr. Rigby, you are pleased to call your ancestor) to one of his *bastards* from whom I make no doubt of your descent—"

* Although this letter is more virulent than any in the author's edition of Junius, it seems hitherto to have attracted but little notice. This *neglect* is owing, perhaps, to the difficulty felt by all commentators to apply the *circumstance* that occasioned this letter to any of the parties suspected as the writer. The *refusal* of the Duke of Grafton to allow the King's timber to be cut in Whittlebury Forest, over which his Grace was hereditary ranger, could affect the *private* interest of only a very few of the *nobility*, and only such as held similar grants from the Crown. Among these was Lord Chesterfield. His lordship's attention would, therefore, necessarily be directed to the conduct of the Duke of Grafton on a subject that so nearly concerned him, but with the public generally it was of very little consequence whether the timber required for the navy was selected from Whittlebury Forest, or a new order was made out at the Treasury transferring the right of spoliation to *Sherwood* or any other royal forest in the kingdom. The importance, however, which Junius himself attached to this letter is evident from the private note which accompanied it.

"The enclosed is of *such importance*, so *very material*, that it *MUST* be given to the public *immediately*. I will not advise, though I think you safe; all I say is that, I *RELY* upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the *Pacquet*."—*Private Letter*, No. 38, vol. I, p. 226.

And in this one letter the Duke of Grafton is reminded no less than *five* times of the baseness of his origin; a circumstance that plainly indicates the true source of the writer's malevolence. The parties who had despised Mr. Stanhope on account of his birth were invariably the objects of Junius's lasting resentment. This was an "unexpiated" and "unexpiable" offence that admitted of no compromise. The writer felt that he had not only been *injured*, but he had been *insulted*, and his wounded pride endeavoured to recover its level by revenge.

On a review of these circumstances (without any reference to the multitude of additional proofs which lie thickly scattered throughout the works of Junius) it may be affirmed that had Mr. Stanhope been treated with the common courtesy due to his long services under Government, and had obtained a seat in parliament at the request of Lord Chesterfield, THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN WRITTEN.

CHAPTER IV.

At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions—I speak from a *recess* which no human curiosity can penetrate.—JUNIUS.

The universal question will be who is the author or supposed author of this *paper*?* To which, if I do not give an answer, I must beg leave to be excused, being determined, at present, to shine like phosphorus in the dark, and scatter my light from the *impenetrable recess* of my own closet.†—CHESTERFIELD.

CIRCUMSTANCES are strongly in favour of the rumour that Junius was discovered to the King soon after the publication of the genuine edition of the letters in 1772, nor is it improbable that his own indiscretion furnished “the myrmidons of the Court” with the means of tracing him in the miscellaneous letters which appeared in the Public Advertiser *after* he had closed his correspondence under the signature of Junius. This part of the inquiry is both interesting and important, and deserves some attention from the *reserve* of the Grenville family in reference to

* It may be worth while to observe that Junius almost invariably designates his *letters* by this title, which seems to imply that the author had been accustomed at some time to write *Essays* for the periodicals. In fact, many of the *letters* of Junius assume more the character of *Essays* than *personal addresses*.

† The *literary* character of Junius and Lord Chesterfield may be traced in these mottoes. Scarcely *two* CELEBRATED CONTEMPORANEOUS AUTHORS would have betrayed so little regard for *posthumous* fame. Junius determined that his secret should perish with him. The very few *Essays* which have been incorporated in *Lord Chesterfield's Works* appear to have been acknowledged by him with *reluctance*, and although he has confessed himself to be the *author* of no less than three periodical papers, (*Fog's Journal*, *Common Sense*, and *Old England*) only a very scanty selection of his *Essays* has descended to posterity. Even his admirable *Papers* in the *World* would have been lost to the public, if his friend, Lord Lyttleton, had not by chance been shewn the manuscript of the first essay, and recognised at once the hand writing, but more especially the style, of the writer. A strong proof that Lord Chesterfield was indifferent whether his “innumerable trifles” were accepted or rejected by the publisher so long as his name was concealed.

certain private letters of Junius, which have been for so many years withheld from the public.

But before we enter upon the inquiry whether the secret of Junius has not been long known to certain parties, it will be well to examine the evidence which tends to shew that the author had often been suspected.

In the first private letter which has been preserved, dated April 20, 1769, Junius desired Woodfall that if any inquiries should be made about his "*papers*" to give him a hint. The writer by this evidently expected that the style and matter of his writings would induce suspicion, and he felt it necessary to use every precaution for his safety. This expectation, it appears, was soon verified, for in his third letter to Woodfall, dated 15th July, 1769, he says, "I have received the favour of your note. From the contents of it, I imagine you have something to communicate to me. If that be the case, I beg you will be particular and also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton, to be left at the bar of the New Exchange Coffee House, on Monday as early as you think proper."

This private correspondence probably referred to the first serious alarm of Junius, which was caused by the impertinent inquiry of Swinney, (see private letter, No. 5). His next source of inquietude was occasioned by a letter signed A.B., relative to the Duke of Rutland. This letter was published in the London Evening Post, Nov. 7, and reprinted at the desire of Junius, in the Public Advertiser, Nov. 10, 1769.

The reader is earnestly requested to mark *the dates* in this part of the inquiry.

On the 5th Oct., 1769, Junius wrote to Woodfall on the subject of a packet (the nature of which cannot now be ascertained) although it evidently had relation to the search that was then making to discover the author. His fears, however, at the date of this letter appear to have been somewhat allayed, and in his next letter, dated 8th Nov., he wrote to Woodfall, "I have been out of town these three weeks, and though I got your last could not conveniently answer it * * * I should be much obliged if you would reprint (and in the front page, if not improper or inconvenient) a letter in the London Evening Post of last night to the Duke

of Grafton. If it had not been anticipated I should have touched upon the subject myself. However it is not ill done, and it is very material that it should spread. The person alluded to is Lord Denbigh. I should think you might venture him with a D. As it stands few people can guess who is meant."

Two days after the letter signed A. B. had appeared in the Public Advertiser (i. e. Nov. 12) Junius wrote to Woodfall. "I return you the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can neither write common English nor spell is hardly worth attending to. It is, probably, a trap for me. I should be glad, however, to know what the fool means. If he writes again open his letter, and if it contains anything worth my knowing send it, otherwise not. *Instead of C. in the usual place* say only *A letter* when you have occasion to write to me again, I shall understand you."

The caution given to Woodfall in this letter, implies that Junius was uneasy at the contents of the letters which he had received, though at that time he was not perhaps aware that the letter signed A. B. had been generally attributed to him, for it was not till the 16th of Nov., that he desired Woodfall to *assure* the public that the letter signed A. B. was not written by Junius. This notice must have appeared on the very day that Junius was charged with being the author. The following is a paragraph from a letter which appeared in the Public Advertiser on the 17th Nov., 1769:—

"Junius may change his signature, his manner he cannot change. The far-fetched antithesis, the empty period, the pert loquacity, distinguish the writer, and the rancorous and impudent falsehood discovers the man. In vain has he attempted to conceal himself under initials, he is as invariable in the tenor of his diction as he is in the bias of his mind. It was, however, a mark of some judgment in Mr. ——— to use a new signature in your paper of Friday. A. B. may praise the Duke of Rutland though Junius has unfamously traduced the Marquis of Granby."

From the contents of this letter it is evident that the writer entertained the general opinion, current at that time, that Mr. Burke was Junius.

We would now call attention to the dates of Lord Chesterfield's letters at the time that the letter A. B. was inserted in the Public Advertiser. The letter which Junius wrote to Woodfall

before he left town is dated 5th October, and on the 8th November he writes, "I have been out of town three weeks." On referring to Lord Chesterfield's correspondence, we find that his lordship left town *two days after* the date of Junius's letter, that is to say, on the 7th October; but we have no evidence to show that Lord Chesterfield was in London on the 8th November, for he wrote to Mrs. E. Stanhope on the 5th November, from Bath. Yet Junius, or his confidential friend, must have been in London, or its immediate neighbourhood, from the 8th November to the 16th Nov., for in his letter of the 12th November, he says, "I return you the letters you sent me *yesterday*." As this is almost the only instance in which the absence of Lord Chesterfield does not correspond with the apparent situation of Junius, we shall endeavour to explain why no record can be found of Lord Chesterfield's abode during the ten days that Junius was under so great alarm from the inquiry as to the writer of the letter signed A. B.

In the first place, there is no proof that Lord Chesterfield *did not* leave Bath immediately after the date of his letter to Mrs. Stanhope. If his business in London was to transmit the letter, A. B., to the publisher of the London Evening Post, it is more than probable that he would keep his journey a secret; and this he could easily do, by taking up his abode at Blackheath for a few days. His letter to Mrs. Stanhope would induce his acquaintance to believe that he was still at Bath, and put a stop to all inquiries. Lord Chesterfield might also suspect from Mrs. Stanhope's intimacy with Lord North that she was employed by that minister as a spy upon his movements. He could not, therefore, more effectually have guarded against intrusion than by the letter which he wrote a day or two before Junius returned to town.

Although it was indispensable that Junius should be almost a constant resident in London, or its immediate vicinity, it is not improbable that the composition and copying of the letters was effected in a place where the writer's seclusion would be less noticed, and where he would be more secure against surprise or interruption. For this purpose Lord Chesterfield was provided with a retreat at Blackheath, where he might defy human curiosity to penetrate.

But of all the subjects chosen by Junius for the display of his political knowledge, there was none, perhaps, that so nearly led to

his detection as his letter on the Convention with Spain, in 1770. This letter was published on the 30th January, 1771, in which the writer professed to take into consideration His Majesty's Speech of the 13th November, and the subsequent measures of Government: but he confined himself chiefly to that paragraph of the speech which related to the restitution of Falkland Island.

"*The excessive caution,*" says Junius, "with which the speech was drawn up, had impressed upon me an early conviction that no serious resentment was thought of, and that the conclusion of the business, whenever it appeared, must, in some degree, be dishonourable to England. There appears through the whole speech *a guard and reserve* in the choice of expression which shows how careful the ministry were not to embarrass their future projects by any firm or spirited declaration from the throne."*

The day after this letter had appeared in the Public Advertiser Junius wrote to his printer in exultation at its success, nor does he appear to have overrated the sensation it was calculated to produce, for it soon attracted the attention of Government, and Dr. Johnson was ordered to check the daring attacks of the presumptive writer.

"Of the Doctor's Pamphlet" says the editor of the enlarged edition of the Letters, "the ministry were not a little proud, and especially as they made no doubt that Junius would hereby be drawn into a paper contest with Johnson, and that hence they

* The opposition of Lord Chesterfield to the Spanish Convention, 1739, bears a strict analogy in language and sentiment to that of Junius in 1771. The very expressions are employed by both on the two occasions :—

"I shall agree, my lords, that those expressions which may be thought to relate to any part of our late conduct are very general, more than ordinary care has been taken to make them so, but even this is an argument for the amendment proposed. So *great caution* is a sort of proof that matters are not all right, it shews a consciousness of some misbehaviour which ought to give us suspicion.

"The paragraphs that relate to our late transactions are indeed so general, and the terms of expression *so artfully* and *cautiously chosen*, that upon any ordinary occasion I should not, perhaps, have made an objection; but, my lords, the present emergency is the most extraordinary, the most important that has ever happened since I have had the honour to sit in this House. Our trade, *our very being*, is deeply concerned in every resolution we can come to during this Session of Parliament. The only profitable branch of our trade, I am afraid—the branch upon which all the other, and, consequently, *the being of this nation* depends, is now at stake."

Junius, in his letter on the convention, says,—

"As far as the probability of argument extends, we may safely pronounce that a conjuncture which threatens *the very being* of this country has been wilfully prepared and forwarded by our own ministry."

would possess a greater facility of detecting him. Junius seems to have been aware of the trap laid for him, and made no direct reply whatever."

But, in the meantime, a more dangerous opponent had appeared in the character of *Alcides*. The hints conveyed by that writer's letter were too pointed to be misunderstood by Junius; he, therefore, prudently declined the contest.

Alcides had thus described the anonymous author:—

"A distinguished advocate for popular licentiousness,* who has *lain long buried* under the *ruins* of patriotism, has again worked his way into the world, for the honourable purpose of vilifying his Sovereign and misleading his country; and, it is a melancholy reflection that, among the utterly uninformed—among those who take assertion for proof, and receive scurrillity for argument—his opinions upon the Spanish declaration are thought to be unanswerable. Yet, if we examine these opinions with the most cursory eye, we shall find them so replete with absurdity—so founded in ignorance, that the severity of our censure must be mixed with compassion, and our indignation at the profligacy be mitigated by our pity for the weakness of the author."

In order to add force to this description, *Alcides* emphatically styles Junius "this *polite* writer," and concludes his letter with a sarcastic reference to the predominant vice of Lord Chesterfield, "The *dice* which Junius plays with are, however, palpably loaded."

These inuendoes were, surely, sufficient to warn Junius from entering the lists against *Alcides*, and to deter him from answering the pamphlet of Dr. Johnson; but, with his usual skill, he diverted public attention from these opponents, by answering a less dangerous antagonist, and thus put an end to the controversy.

It is probable, however, that the public misapplied the hints thrown out by *Alcides*, although so evidently designed to point at Lord Chesterfield; and that the distinguished advocate for popular licentiousness was supposed to be Mr. Wilkes, or one of the par-

* Lord Chesterfield was the most distinguished advocate for the licentiousness of the stage. His speech in 1737, on the Licensing Bill, has long been considered a masterpiece of oratory in defence of popular licentiousness, and the unbridled liberty of the press.

tisans who upheld him when he incurred the prosecution which led to his outlawry : but a little consideration would have shown that neither Wilkes nor his advocates could, with propriety, have been said to have *lain long buried* under the *ruins* of patriotism. This inuendo referred to the undermining of those patriots who had for so many years withstood the power of Sir Robert Walpole, when that able politician, like a political Sampson, withdrew the chief pillars of the opposition (Carteret and Pulteney), and thereby pulled down destruction upon his enemies, and buried them under the *ruins* of patriotism. The distinguished advocate for popular licentiousness could be no other than he who had rendered himself so conspicuous by his opposition to the bill for restraining the licentiousness of the stage.

In order to show that Alcides had sufficient grounds to suspect Lord Chesterfield to be the author of this letter, nothing more would be necessary than to quote his lordship's speeches on the Spanish Convention, 1739. The same inveterate hostility towards the Spanish court, and the like professions of regard for the dignity of the Crown and the honour of his native country, are discernible throughout the whole of Junius's letters on this subject. It is in vain to say that Junius imitated the *conduct* and *language* of Lord Chesterfield, since, in that case, he would not have been intimidated by the hints of his opponents, nor would he have sought shelter under other signatures when he desired to display his knowledge of the treaties and policy of Spain towards Great Britain, from the earliest period of England's conventions with that nation.

Enough has, perhaps, been said, to prove that the contest on the subject of the Spanish Convention brought the anonymous writer to the very brink of detection, and that nothing but his consummate art and dissimulation could have averted discovery, or again lulled suspicion. Subsequently to this, Junius was threatened by the inquiries of Garrick, and for some time he was in constant alarm, lest Woodfall should divulge some circumstance that would betray him ; but he was not, perhaps, aware, that Lord Barrington was his most dangerous enemy, until he found, in 1772, that Mr. D'Oyly had been driven from the War Office.

That Lord Barrington was the principal person employed by the king at this time to discover the anonymous writer will appear evident from the *conduct* of Junius.

On the 18th January, 1772, Junius wrote to Woodfall, "The gentleman that transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night," and a few days after he commenced a series of letters addressed to Lord Barrington, at the same time he cautioned Woodfall to take care that it was not known that the letters signed *Veteran* were written by Junius, for although he had on many occasions, in the course of his correspondence, spoken in terms of haughty contempt of Lord Barrington, yet under the signature of Junius he had cautiously avoided giving Lord Barrington any clue to suspect him. As *Veteran*, however, he felt himself more secure, and related *facts* that could have been remembered by none but a *veteran* in politics. He thus describes Lord Barrington's entrance into public life, and proves how well his lordship had supported the character of Political Vicar of Bray.*

"The Duke of Newcastle's livery was the first habit you put on. What an indefatigable courtier at his levee. What an assiduous parasite at his table! Was there a dirty job to be performed—away went Barrington. Was a message to be carried—who waits there?—My Lord Barrington. After ruining that brave and worthy man, General Fowke, under the auspices of the Duke of Newcastle, *who saved you from destruction*, you deserted to Mr. Pitt the moment he came into power. Before the late king's death, you secured a footing at Carlton House, and were prepared to abandon your last patron the moment Lord Bute assumed the reins of government. From Lord Bute to Mr. Grenville there was an easy transfer of your affections. You are the common friend of all ministers, but it is not in your policy to engage in overt acts of hostility against those who may perhaps be next in turn to patronise Lord Barrington. My dear lord or my dear sir are titles with which you have occasionally addressed every man who ever had an office, or the chance of an office, in this kingdom. Even the proscribed John Wilkes, the moment he was sheriff, had a claim upon your *politeness*. Your character was a little battered by the frequency of your political amours when Lord Rockingham took you into keep-

* This character was first given to Lord Barrington by Mr. Philip Stanhope in 1756. "I never doubted," writes Lord Chesterfield, "the prudent versatility of your Vicar of Bray."—Vol. IV., p. 198.

Junius knew that the Duke of Newcastle saved Lord Barrington from destruction! His grace was at that time in the habit of consulting with Lord Chesterfield on any political emergency.

ing. While you existed by his protection you intrigued with the Duke of Grafton. Another change succeeded. Your mind was open to new lights; and, without doubt, Lord Chatham was the only man in the kingdom fit to govern a great empire. Still, however, your opinion of men and things were not perfectly settled. When the Duke of Grafton took the lead the pliant Barrington, of course, saw things in a different point of view. There is nothing in your attachments that savours of obstinacy. When his Grace resigned you soon discovered that, to establish government upon a solid footing, the minister's presence was indispensable in the House of Commons. Lord North was then the man after your Lordship's own heart. In your ideas, the first Lord of the Treasury, for the time being, is always perfect, but every change is for the better. With all your professions of attachment to the temporary minister, I tell him, and I tell the public, that at this very hour you are caballing with the Duke of Grafton and the Bedfords to obtain the recal of Lord Townshend, and to drive Lord North from the Treasury. But they all know you. In the inventory of the discarded minister's effects Lord Barrington is always set down as a fixture."

This sketch of Lord Barrington's life was written a short time *before* Mr. Francis was turned out of the War Office. Had Lord Barrington given himself time to examine the foregoing paragraph carefully, and had not been hurried away by the first impression, arising from the exposure of scenes described by Junius as having taken place in the War Office, it is probable that Mr. Francis would not have lost his situation. For Lord Barrington must have *known* that nearly thirty years had elapsed since he first put on the Duke of Newcastle's livery, and that none but a person who had *attended the levees*, and been *present* with his lordship at the Duke of Newcastle's *table*, could have described his conduct so well.

Junius published his "Memoirs of Lord Barrington" on the 12th May, 1772, and then abruptly terminated his correspondence. It is presumed that it was about the date of this letter that Lord Barrington succeeded in discovering that the writer of the letters signed Veteran, was Junius. For when Lord Barrington read the history of his life thus faithfully and circumstancially related, with the prominent features of his political character drawn by so skilful a hand, and his actions in by-gone days portrayed by touches

that none but an eye-witness could so happily have delineated, he must have *felt* that Philip Francis, a discarded clerk of the War Office, could not have been his historian. He would, therefore, naturally turn his inquiries to the *very few then living* who had known him in early life, and the truth probably flashed upon him at once that his enemy was no other than LORD CHESTERFIELD. It was HE who had been his associate at the Fountain Club. It was HE who had witnessed his servility at the Duke of Newcastle's table, and at his own, for it was under Lord Chesterfield's banner that Lord Barrington made his first step in preferment.* This clue being obtained, the difficulty of tracing the letters of Junius to Lord Chesterfield was overcome. Nor is it improbable that Mr. Francis assisted in the search, for the father of Philip Francis was chaplain to Lord Chesterfield, and the ex-clerk was, perhaps, too ready to admit the share he might *inadvertently* have had in disclosing certain scenes at the War Office, or in transacting at times, without any guilty knowledge, the conveyancing part of the correspondence of Junius.

But it was not, perhaps, from Mr. Francis alone that Junius obtained his information of what was going on at the War Office. He probably heard it from the parties themselves, who had been insulted by Lord Barrington, and his associate, Mr. Chamier. The following passage seems to hint at the source from which one of the scenes was derived:—

“Let us suppose a case which every man acquainted with the war office will admit to be very probable. Suppose a Lieutenant General, who perhaps may be a peer or a member of the House of Commons, does you the honour to wait upon you for instructions relative to his regiment. After explaining yourself to him with your usual accuracy and decision, you naturally refer him to your deputy for the detail of the business. My dear general, I'm prodigiously hurried. But do me the favour to go to Mr. Shammy—go to little Waddlewell—go to my duckling—go to little three per cents. reduced—you'll find him a mere scrip of a secretary, an

* Lord Barrington entered public life shortly after his return from his travels, having been elected member for Berwick in 1740, in the 23rd year of his age. He joined the opposition, who were at that time distinguished by the name of “The Patriots,” of which band Lord Chesterfield might then be considered the leader. Lord Chesterfield made it one of the conditions of his coming into office that Lord Barrington should be provided for.

omnium of all that's genteel, the activity of a broker, the *politeness* of a hairdresser, the—the—the, &c."

"Our general officer we may presume being curious to see this wonderful Girgashite, the following dialogue passes between them :—

"*Lieutenant-General*.—Sir, the Secretary at War refers me to you for an account of what was done?

"*Waddlewell*.—Done, Sir, closed at three eights—looked flat I must own, but to morrow, my dear Sir, I hope to see a more lively appearance.

"*Lieutenant-General*.—Sir, I speak of the noneffective fund.

"*Waddlewell*.—Fund, my dear Sir. In what fund would you wish to be concerned. Speak freely. You may confide in your humble servant. I'm all discretion.

"*Lieutenant-General*.—Sir, I really don't understand you. Lord Barrington says my regiment may possibly be thought of for India.

"*Waddlewell*.—India, my dear Sir. Strange fluctuation—from fourteen and a half to twenty-two never stood a moment, but ended cheerful—no *mortal* can account for it.

"*Lieutenant-General*.—Damn your stocks, Sir, tell me whether the commission—

"*Waddelwell*.—As for commission, my dear Sir, I'll venture to say that no gentleman in the alley does business upon easier terms. I never take less than an eighth, except from Lord Sandwich and my brother-in-law, but they deal largely and you must be sensible, my dear Sir, that, when the Commission is extensive it may be worth a broker's while to content himself with a sixteenth.

"The general officer, at last fatigued with such extravagance, quits the room in disgust, and leaves the intoxicated broker to settle his accounts himself.

"After such a scene as this, do you think that any man of rank or consequence in the army will ever apply to you or your deputy again? Will any officer of rank condescend to receive orders from a little WHIFFLING broker, to whom he may formerly have given half-a-crown for negotiating an hundred pound stock, or sixpence for a lottery ticket? My Lord, without a jest, it is indecent, it is odious, it is preposterous. Our gracious master, it is said, reads the newspapers. If he does, he shall know minutely in what

manner you treat his faithful army. This is the first of *sixteen** letters addressed to your lordship which are ready for the press, and shall appear as fast as it suits the printer's convenience.—
VETERAN."

The signature, as well as the subject of this letter, implies that it was either written by a general officer who was a peer, or a member of the House of Commons, *or by some friend of such general officer.*

Major-General Irwine (at that time a partizan of the Grenvilles, and the intimate friend of Lord Chesterfield) was probably the person from whom the writer obtained his information. The *circumstances* of General Irwine might compel him occasionally to visit the war office, and it was, perhaps, from him and Adjutant-General Harvey, and not from Sir P. Francis, that Junius chiefly became acquainted with the occurrences in Lord Barrington's department.

General Irwine was at that time a supporter of Lord Temple's party, and therefore could not expect to be very courteously received by Lord Barrington. Adjutant-General Harvey was an old and intimate friend of Lord Chesterfield, and from such sources his lordship would find no difficulty in making himself acquainted with the movements at the war office.

The conjecture that Junius did not receive his information from Mr. Francis, is rendered still more probable by the letter which Junius wrote immediately after Mr. Francis was dismissed. In that letter he calls upon Mr. D'Oyly and Mr. Francis *to declare their reasons for quitting the war office.* Neither of these gentlemen could have been so silly as to have written such a letter, but Junius felt that some apology was necessary for the mischief he had occasioned, and the only reparation in his power was a public acknowledgment of the high sense he entertained of their characters and conduct, and he might hope by this appeal to be furnished with the means of retaliating upon Lord Barrington. Junius, no doubt, *knew* why Mr. Francis was dismissed, but as the public was not aware of the suspicions entertained by Lord Barrington, he could not defend Mr. Francis until that gentleman had publicly declared his reason for quitting the war office.

* *Six* only of these promised letters appeared. The last, entitled *Memoirs of Lord Barrington*, is dated 12th May, 1772. Just at this time Lord Chesterfield was seized with a serious illness, which lasted during the summer of 1772.

But there is one scene described in the letters to Lord Barrington which Mr. Francis would hardly have ventured to publish, however much he might have been offended by the appointment of the person who had supplanted him. The scene is described in the second letter to Lord Barrington, a portion of which has already been given.

“By garbling and new modelling the war office, you think you have reduced the army to subjection. Walk in, gentlemen, business done by Chamier and Co. To make your office complete you want nothing now but a paper lanthorn at the door and the scheme of a lottery pasted upon the window. With all your folly and obstinacy I am a loss to conceive what countenance you assumed when you told your Royal master that you had taken a little Frenchified broker from Change Alley, to entrust with the management of all the affairs of his army. Did the following dialogue leave no impression upon your disordered imagination? *You know where it passed.*

K.—Pray, my Lord, whom have you appointed to succeed Mr. D'Oyly?

B.—Please your Majesty, I believe I have made a choice that will be highly acceptable to the public and the army.

K.—Who is it?

B.—Sire, it's Appelle Ragosin, born and educated in Change Alley. He glories in the name of broker, and to say nothing of my Lord Sandwich's friendship, I can assure your Majesty he has always kept the best company at Jonathan's.

K.—My lord, I never interfere in these matters, but I cannot help telling your lordship that you might have consulted my honour, and the credit of my army a little better. Your appointment of so mean a person, though he may be a very honest man, in the mystery he was bred to, casts a reflection upon *me*, and is an insult to the army. At all events, I desire it may be understood that I have no concern in this ill-judged, indecent measure, and that I do not approve of it.

I suppose, my lord, you thought this conversation might be sunk upon the public. It does honour to his Majesty, and therefore you concealed it.”

Although the foregoing dialogue is not to be taken as literally true, yet the manner in which it is introduced shows that

the writer had some foundation for asserting that the King was not pleased at the appointment of Mr. Chamier; but it is not credible that Mr. Francis would have thus publicly exposed his principal, even if he had learned this secret of the Council Chamber from his father, who was at that time a favourite with the King. Nevertheless, he was probably suspected by Lord Barrington, for a few days after the date of this letter Mr. Francis was dismissed from the War Office. How he was rewarded for the injury he had sustained by these unjust suspicions, or for the share he might have had in discovering the author, has been adduced by Mr. Taylor as *one of the proofs* that he was the writer of the letters.

"We have only to conceive," says Mr. Taylor, "that Sir Philip Francis was Junius, and everything is explained."

The public will not have much difficulty in determining whether "a mere clerk in office" would have been rewarded or punished if he had been discovered to be the author of Junius's letters. The King and his ministers would have been but too happy in finding their enemy in so subordinate a rank in society, nor would they have wished to conceal his name, or spared *such an offender* the *disgrace* which must have attached to him as a *treacherous servant* of the crown. But in Lord Chesterfield the case was widely different. To have it publicly known that his lordship had spent the last years of his life in revealing secrets of the court and of the cabinet, and in exposing the weaknesses of the king and his ministers, would have been more galling to the parties than even the very libels themselves. It became necessary, therefore, that those who had assisted in the discovery of Junius should be silenced, and, in some instances rewarded, to ensure their fidelity. Mr. Francis left England immediately after the publication of Junius's last letter, and *while he was abroad* Lord Barrington, who had a few months before turned him out of the War Office, "*honourably and generously*" recommended him to Lord North, who procured him the rank of a sovereign in India, and the dismissed clerk, who could not retain a salary of £400, was at once raised to one of £10,000 a year!!! It is further stated, that on Mr. Francis's return to England in 1780, "nobody would speak to him but the King and Edmund Burke, and that his majesty *was very gracious to him*;"—and all these *honours*, Mr. Taylor would per-

suade us, were bestowed upon Mr. Francis *because* the King had discovered that he was the author of the letters of Junius!

Mr. D'Oyly, who was the first victim of Lord Barrington's unjust suspicions, (shortly after Mr. Francis's appointment), also obtained a lucrative employment under government. The Grenvilles were reconciled and General Irwine became a favourite of Geo. III.* The enquiry after Junius, as far as the Court was concerned, has from that time been buried in profound silence.

But it was not merely the extraordinary facts related by Junius in these letters to Lord Barrington that alone supplied the Court with means to lead to the detection of the *veteran* Junius. The letter signed CUMBRIENSIS, dated 13th Nov., 1771, had renewed inquiry. In this letter Junius admitted his *personal knowledge* of the lineaments of the late Prince of Wales, father of George the Third, and of the Duke of Cumberland. "Yet I must confess, partial as I am to you for the sake of that good prince of whose resemblance you carry some cutting traces about you, I could wish you did not stand quite so near as you do to the regency and crown of England."

The courtly style of this ironical letter of congratulation could hardly fail to direct suspicion to the only person of rank who would dare, in such language, to add insult to the disgrace which had befallen the royal family by the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton.

That Lord Chesterfield would have no scruples if he wished to annoy the King, may be inferred from the following ode, which

* Sir John Irwine may be considered the most successful pupil of Lord Chesterfield's system of education. "His person, manners, and conversation," says a modern historian, "were all made for the drawing room. His politeness, though somewhat formal, was, nevertheless, natural and captivating. Perhaps (at least so his enemies asserted) his military talents were not equally brilliant with his personal accomplishments, but he had not risen the more slowly on that account to the honours or to the eminences of his profession. Besides a regiment and a government conferred on him by the crown, he had held during several years past the post of Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, with very ample appointments and advantages. But no income, however large, could suffice for his expenses, which being never restrained within any reasonable limits finally involved him in irretrievable difficulties."

The greatest intimacy subsisted between Lord G. Sackville and Sir John Irwine, who owed much of his advancement and success in life to the protection of Lionel Duke of Dorset. Lord Sackville's disinterested friendship continued to bring Sir John Irwine into parliament for Eastgrinstead after his return from Ireland, which took place on the dissolution of Lord North's administration, down to his final departure from England: Decorated with the order of the Bath, which then conferred much distinction, and of which he

his lordship is said to have written in the character of the Laureat, while the Prince of Wales was alive. In this the family likeness alluded to by Junius is still more offensively pointed out :—

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S ODE.

FOR COLLEY CIBBER THE LAUREAT.

Written when the Prince of Wales was alive.

I, Colley Cibber, right or wrong,
Must celebrate this day,
And tune once more my tuneless song
And strum the venal lay.

never failed to display the insignia whenever he went to the House, his personal appearance was imposing. Even of a morning, in his greatest undress, he wore a small star embroidered on his frock, without which he rarely appeared any where, and his travelling hussar cloaks bore the same brilliant badge of knighthood. No man knew better the value of external figure aided by manner; and Philip Earl of Chesterfield himself had not more successfully studied the graces. It was impossible to possess finer manners without any affectation or more perfect good breeding. With such pretensions of person and of address it cannot surprise that he attained to a great degree of favour at St. James's. The King† considered and treated Irwine as a person whose conversation afforded him peculiar gratification. He often delighted to protract the discourse with a courtier whose powers of entertainment, however extensive, were always under the restraint of profound respect, and who never forgot the character of the prince whom he addressed even for a single moment. Irwine, though so fine a gentleman, loved all the indulgences of conviviality, in which gratification he never restrained himself. The king, not unacquainted with these particulars, having said to him one day at the drawing room, when conversing on his common mode of life, "They tell me, Sir John, that you love a glass of wine." "Those, sir, who have so reported of me to your majesty," answered he, bowing profoundly, "have done me great injustice, they should have said a bottle."

"Sir John Irwine's first wife was a daughter of the celebrated physician Sir Edward Barry, who brought him no issue, but he afterwards contracted a more obscure matrimonial connection. On his return to England his debts became so numerous and his creditors so importunate that though as a member of parliament his person still remained secure, he found it impossible to reside longer, with comfort, in this country. Quitting, therefore, privately his elegant house in Piccadilly, opposite the Green Park, he retired to the continent, and landing in France he hired a chateau in the province of Normandy, where his military rank secured for him every testimony of respect from the surrounding gentry. He, nevertheless, soon experienced such pecuniary difficulties that he could nourish no hope of ever revisiting his native country, and he removed over the Alps into Italy. I believe he died at Padua, about the month of May, 1788, in great obscurity though not in distress. The King, who sincerely regretted his departure from England, and who well knew the causes of it, often expressed his concern for Sir John Irwine's misfortunes, which he endeavoured to alleviate by sending Sir John the sum of a thousand pounds from his privy purse, in two separate payments. I know this fact from the late Sir Charles Hotham, who was, I think, himself the channel through which his Majesty transmitted the first donation of five hundred pounds.—*Wraxall's Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 362.

† Geo. III.

Heaven spread thro' all the family
 That broad illustrious glare,
 That shines so flat in every eye
 And makes them all so stare.

Heaven send the prince of royal race
 A little ——— and horse,
 A little meaning in his face
 And money in his purse.

And as *I** have a son like you
 May he Parnassus rule,
 So shall the crown and laurel too
 Descend from fool to fool.

Having stated the reasons for believing that the correspondence of Junius with Lord Barrington led to that writer's detection, it remains to add such collateral evidence as may tend to confirm the opinion that Junius was at that time discovered.

"It is commonly reported and believed," says Mr. Taylor, "that the King, the late Lord North, and the present Lord Grenville were, at some time or other, made acquainted with the real name of Junius." According to the following anecdote in Wraxall's Memoirs, the King acquired this knowledge in the year 1772. "I have been assured that the King, riding out in the year 1772, accompanied by General Desaguliers, said to him in conversation, we know who Junius is and he will write no more. The general, who was too good a courtier to congratulate upon such a piece of intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the discourse proceeded no further."

The secret at that time seems to have been confined to the King and those who were emphatically called "the King's friends," but it appears that it was subsequently imparted to those who were admitted to the King's confidence, and among the rest to Lord Shelburne. The following curious particulars are taken from the New Monthly Magazine for July, 1813:—

"Sir Richard Phillips, on calling upon the Marquis of Lansdowne, to whom he was personally known, found him in a sick chamber suffering under a general breaking up of his constitution,

* Colley Cibber.

but in his usual flow of spirits, anecdote and conversation. On his mentioning Almon's new edition of Junius and that the editor had fixed on Boyd as the author, the Marquis exclaimed, I thought Almon had known better. I gave him credit for more discernment. The world, however, will not be deceived by him, for there is higher evidence than his opinion. Look at Boyd's other writings. He never did write like Junius and never could write like Junius. Internal evidence destroys the hypothesis of Almon. Sir Richard Phillips then observed to the Marquis that many persons had ascribed those letters to his lordship, and that the world at large conceived that at least he was not unacquainted with the author. The Marquis smiled and said, no, no, I am not equal to Junius. I could not be the author; but the grounds of secrecy are now so far removed by death and changes of circumstances that it is unnecessary the author of Junius should much longer be unknown. The world are curious about him, and I could make a very interesting publication on the subject. I knew Junius and I know all about the writing and production of those letters. But look, said he, at my condition. I don't think I can live a week, my legs, my strength tell me so; but the doctors, who always flatter sick men, assure me I am in no immediate danger. They order me into the country and I am going there. If I live over the summer, which, however, I don't expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will put my name to it. I will set that question at rest for ever. Sir Richard Phillips then turned the conversation to the various persons who had at different times been named as Junius, and, after mentioning five or six whose pretensions the Marquis destroyed by very cogent reasonings, his Lordship closed the conversation by stating that it was of no use to pursue the matter further at that time. I'll tell you this for your guide generally, said he, Junius has never yet been named.* None of the parties ever guessed at as Junius was the true Junius. Nobody has ever suspected him. I knew him, and knew all about it, and I pledge myself that if these legs will permit me, to give you a pamphlet on the subject as soon as I feel myself equal to the labour."

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of Sir R. Phillips in

* The pamphlet attributing the letters of Junius to Lord Chesterfield was not published till some years after the death of Lord Shelburne.

this record of his interview with Lord Shelburne, much less to suspect that his lordship boasted of a secret which he did not possess. Nevertheless, when his lordship died no trace of those materials with which he was prepared to set the question of Junius at rest for ever were discovered.

After the death of Lord Shelburne, Sir R. Phillips pursued his inquiries, and wrote to the Marquis of Lansdowne, his successor, to know whether he was informed of the person alluded to by his father. To this letter Sir Richard received the following answer:—

“Of the author of Junius I have heard nothing but the surmises which have been generally spread respecting Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Burke, &c. It is not impossible my father may have been acquainted with the fact, *but perhaps was under some obligation to secrecy*, as he never made any communication to me upon the subject.”

This obligation to secrecy seems to have been imposed upon all those who were at any time numbered among “the King’s friends.” Thus when Lord Grenville obtained that enviable distinction, he, probably, also was intrusted with the keeping of the secret, though there is good reason to believe that the Grenvilles were the first who caught a glimpse of Junius from his writings.

A correspondent in the Gentleman’s Magazine (Aug., 1817) has given a passage from a letter written by Daniel Wray, Esq., to Lord Hardwicke, dated 22nd Nov. 1772:—

“The divisions are great in the besiegers’ camp, particularly between Lord Temple and Camden, about the author of Junius’s letters.”

On these lines the late Mr. Justice Hardinge remarks:—
“These few words are of no trivial import, and they wonderfully confirm a passage in a conversation between Lord Camden and me. He told me that many things in Junius convinced him that the materials were prompted by Earl Temple, and he mentioned, in particular, a confidential statement which had been made in private between Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, which, from the nature of it, could only have been disclosed by Lord Temple, through Junius, to the public.”*

* Illustrations of the History of the 18th Century, vol. V., p. 146.

In one of the private letters written by Junius to George Grenville, he is said to have promised shortly to discover himself. Whether Junius did so during the life-time of Mr. Geo. Grenville, or whether Lord Grenville was the first member of the family intrusted with the secret, may be known when the *suppressed correspondence* of Junius so carefully preserved in the archives of Stowe are laid before the public.

“Connected with these persons and events,” says Mr. Britton, “it is of importance to notice the circumstance of Junius’s constant advocacy or approval of Mr. Grenville, and it can hardly be doubted that the unpublished letters of Junius, said to be secretly preserved at Stowe, in a mysterious box with three seals, would afford an explanation of this political friendship. The existence of certain letters from Junius to Mr. Grenville has been so fully acknowledged by the late Mr. Thos. Grenville, the present Lord Nugent, and other members of the family, that there cannot be a doubt that such documents are preserved in that splendid mansion, although the number of them and the nature of their contents has been often mentioned with various circumstances of exaggeration and improbability. It is not easy to conjecture the reason of their being still withheld from the public. I repeatedly applied to the present Duke of Buckingham for an examination of them, or for any account which his Grace might think right to impart, but was repulsed with a laconic refusal.”

The fact that the Duke of Buckingham did not deny that unpublished letters of Junius existed among the manuscripts at Stowe, and only refused the examination of them, confirms the rumour recorded by Horace Walpole that Junius corresponded with Mr. George Grenville at the time that he was engaged in writing his public letters, but the reason why these private letters to Mr. Grenville have been so long withheld remains a mystery, nor does this secrecy appear capable of being accounted for but by the conjecture that Junius was too nearly connected with the Grenville family, either in friendship or as a member of that political faction, to allow the letters to be published; unless, indeed, it be admitted that these curious documents are still concealed as one of the conditions which induced the King to receive the Grenville family again into favour, after his Majesty had satisfied himself that the Grenvilles had not encouraged nor assisted Junius in the publication of his letters.

The circumstance related by Walpole that Junius promised shortly to reveal himself to Mr. George Grenville if the latter would *desist* from making enquiries, proves that although the family at Stowe might suspect* who the author was, yet that he had not at that time confided his secret to them.

The whole tenor of Junius's writings shews that he had no direct assistance from the party whose cause he so strenuously advocated. "If I were known," says Junius in a private letter to Wilkes, "I could no longer be an useful servant to the public."

"I have faithfully served the public without the possibility of a personal advantage. As Junius, I can never expect to be rewarded. The secret is too important to be committed to any great man's discretion. If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own secret, how could I flatter myself that the man I trusted, would not act upon the same principle, and sacrifice me at once to the King's curiosity and resentment."

"Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned. I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted." Even in his public letters, Junius alludes to his isolated condition.

"To write for profit without taxing the press; to write for fame, and to be unknown; to support the intrigues of faction, and to be disowned as a dangerous auxiliary by every party in the kingdom, are contradictions which the minister must reconcile before I forfeit my credit with the public. I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of desertion."

The bearing of Junius's political views from his first miscellaneous letter in 1767, to the death of Mr. Grenville in 1770, proves that the object of the writer was to establish a Grenville ministry. He laboured to detach from the Duke of Grafton's party, those few whom he honoured with his esteem, and he succeeded with Granby, Camden, Huntington, and some few others; but his great triumph was when Lord Chatham "threw away the scabbard." It was then he wrote exultingly to his printer, "We shall con-

* If Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and Mr. George Grenville suspected that their friend Lord Chesterfield was Junius, many reasons might induce them to keep the secret from the King. Horace Walpole says that George Grenville "made his peace with the Court before his death." Mr. Grenville died on the 13th Nov., 1770.

quer them at last." How transitory his hopes were, is shown by the despondency of his last letter. Whether Junius became the scape goat of his friends, may be known if ever that portion of the Stowe manuscripts shall be permitted to appear.

The circumstances which have led to a suspicion that Junius had one or more associates in his labours, are the allusions that he sometimes makes in his private letters to Woodfall. On one occasion he speaks of "People about him, whom he would not wish to contradict, and who would rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all." This does not necessarily imply that the persons about him knew that he was Junius or influenced him in writing the letter to which he refers. It was the best apology which he could think of for the folly he had committed—for Junius had placed himself in the predicament of Dr. Caius, by accepting Mr. Woodfall's correspondent Junia for his bride. But he discovered the fair Junia to be no other than the facetious Mr. Caleb Whitefoord, and the wary Junius was in this instance fairly "cozened."

The gallantry displayed by Junius in this curious letter cannot fail to remind the reader of Lord Chesterfield, but to remove any doubt on this subject let the last sentence of Junius's letter to Junia (almost the only *decent* one), be compared with the instruction his lordship has given in one of his letters to his son, in which he acknowledges the "*Divine right of Beauty*" in the very terms here made use of by Junius:—

JUNIUS.

It is true I am a strenuous advocate for liberty and property, but when these rights are invaded by a pretty woman, I am neither able to defend my money nor my freedom. *The Divine right of Beauty* is the only one an Englishman ought to acknowledge, and a pretty woman the only tyrant he is not authorised to resist.—Vol. III., p. 218.

CHESTERFIELD.

You will find in every groupe of company two principal figures, viz., the fine lady and the fine gentleman. The lady looks upon her empire as founded upon *the Divine right of Beauty* (and full as good a divine right it is as any King, Emperor, or Pope can pretend to), she requires and commonly meets with unlimited passive obedience.—Letters, vol. I., p. 215.

The death of Lord Chesterfield recalled the memory of one who had long been lost to the world in the seclusion of Chesterfield House. Portions of his correspondence were immediately collected and offered to the public, but no sooner was this known than an alarm spread through the court, and measures were instantly taken to suppress the publication.

It is not the intention of the writer to heighten the importance of the facts relating to these transactions, nor to dwell long on their singularity. It, may, however, be necessary to observe that if the authorities are not in every instance satisfactory, they are the best that can be adduced after a laborious research. But even this extreme difficulty in obtaining authentic information relative to the life and writings of Lord Chesterfield is, in itself, a remarkable circumstance, and cannot be over-ruled by the plausible pretext that his lordship's pen was too licentious, both on politics and morals, to permit his works to meet the eye of the public, for the most objectionable were allowed to appear, sanctioned by the patronage of Lord North, at that time the confidential servant of the Crown.

We shall now proceed to lay before the reader the following facts. The first, and perhaps the most important, is the early suppression of Lord Chesterfield's papers:—

“When the news of the publication of the posthumous letters of Lord Chesterfield reached the ears of the executors they were alarmed because they contained some free opinions of the men and manners of the present age. The Court immediately influenced itself for a suppression, though Mr. Dodsley had printed them off and sold a proportionate share to Mr. Faulkner, of Dublin; but notwithstanding these engagements, and the great expenses they had been at, Lord Mansfield *generously* assured them they should have an injunction, and that he would suppress the epistles with little trouble. While this business was contending, Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope gave information of many more papers in her possession containing the characters of all the principal men who had lived in his Lordship's time, civil, military, and naval. This new alarm brought the ministers to terms, and therefore they promised if she would give up the characters they would not impede the publication of the letters, by which means the world became possessed of them, though they lost a composition more sacred to this country than the leaves of the Sibyls to the Roman people. To such little arts are our mighty men of the Court driven, that they

* It has been affirmed that Lord Chesterfield *purchased* from Mrs. Stanhope the *originals of the letters* to his son, but that Mrs. Stanhope kept copies, and that after his Lordship's death, she sold the manuscripts for fifteen hundred guineas. In the preface to the first edition it is stated that the letters were published from the *originals* then in the hands of Mrs. Stanhope.

are afraid to see their own deformed faces in a looking-glass.”—*London Mag.*, Dec., 1774, vol. XLIV., p. 590.

By this compromise with the ministers, Mrs. Stanhope was allowed to give to the world the most licentious of his lordship's writings, and thus afforded the enemies of Lord Chesterfield an opportunity of vilifying his lordship's memory, and thereby prevented, in a great measure, further inquiry as to the fate of those papers that would have done honour to his character as a statesman and a writer.

Among the motley crew of moralists, divines, and sycophants which the first edition of Lord Chesterfield's letters called forth, Doctor Johnson and General Burgoyne were pre-eminently distinguished. Both have received their reward from a generous and indignant public, but unfortunately for the fame of Lord Chesterfield, the chief offender triumphed during his life time, nor was it till the recent edition of Lord Chesterfield's works that the conduct of Johnson towards his noble patron was exhibited in a proper light. Junius, indeed, had forestalled the one, and if prudence had not restrained that writer, Doctor Johnson would doubtless have received such an answer to his pamphlet on the Convention, that all his learning would scarcely have protected him against the envenomed shafts of his opponents.

As there is no *proof* that the discovery of Junius was communicated to Dr. Johnson, nor that he was *instigated* by the Court to defame Lord Chesterfield, we shall here confine ourselves to the conduct of General Burgoyne *immediately after* the death of Lord Chesterfield.

In the year 1774 the General distinguished himself as an author by publishing “*A Dramatic Entertainment*,” in which the character of Lord Chesterfield was attempted to be traduced. The reception his satire met with from the public is thus noticed by a contemporary.*

“Mr. Foote hath lavishly ridiculed his Lordship's graces and, the author of *THE MAID OF THE OAKS*† coarsely introduced a jest against them which the honest people warmly disapproved and poignantly hissed. It may become general officers to write, but

* See Quarterly Review No. CLII., pp 476-480.

† The Maid of the Oaks was performed at Drury Lane, Nov. 5, 1774.

few of our military town wits have prowess and ability even to engage with Chesterfield dead."

Circumstances favour the supposition that General Burgoyne's impotent attack on the character of Lord Chesterfield was *one* of the *results* of the discovery that his lordship was the author of the letters of Junius.

1st. The TIME that this farce was *contemplated* and *composed*, coincides with the DATE that has been given of the discovery of Junius.*

2nd. General Burgoyne was one of the King's friends, and had been pointedly abused by Junius, and therefore as a fellow sufferer, might have been entrusted with the secret.

But Junius himself had before given sufficient grounds to excite suspicion. The transaction in which General Burgoyne was so conspicuous a character, will furnish the best evidence on this point.

In 1769 Junius *chose*, for the subject of a new attack upon the Duke of Grafton, the sale of a patent place in the customs at Exeter, *given* by his grace to General Burgoyne, and afterwards *sold* by that gentleman to Mr. Hine. There does not appear to have been anything *extraordinary* in this transaction, and Junius was ultimately compelled to confess that the Duke of Grafton only connived at the transfer, that General Burgoyne might be reimbursed *indirectly* for his services at Preston.

"Come forward thou virtuous minister," says Junius, "and tell the world by what interest Mr. Hine has been recommended to so

* In a review of this piece, it is said that the performance "was *rather* but coolly received." Yet the *expense* of the exhibition does not seem to have been *spared*, and Mr. Garrick had the *credit* of the outlay; he also *generously* assisted the author in revising the piece, and wrote the prologue. "The attention," says our reviewer, "which Mr. Garrick has shown to the decorating of the piece, is a convincing proof that he never spares either labour or expense where there is a likelihood of promoting the pleasure of the public. It is said that the scenery only, which has been painted on purpose for the Maid of the Oaks, cost £1,500. *This is a prodigious sum*, yet it will not appear the least extravagant to anybody who sees it. The landscapes of Claude are scarcely equal to some of the views exhibited, and if nothing beyond the merit of the paintings was held forth to attract the town, we should not be surprised at its bringing twenty crowded audiences. Mr. Garrick's care, however, has not been confined to the scenery, it has extended to the minutest object that could increase either the beauty or magnificence of the entertainment." The zeal which Messrs. Garrick and Foote at this time displayed in traducing the character of Lord Chesterfield, is, to say the least, a *curious* circumstance.

extraordinary a mark of his Majesty's favour—what was the price* of the patent he has bought and to what honourable purpose the purchase money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expenses at Preston. Do you dare to prosecute such a creature as Vaughan, while you are basely setting up the royal patronage to auction. Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your honour, while you are selling the favours of the crown to raise a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And do you think it possible that such enormities should escape without impeachment? It is, indeed, highly your interest to maintain the present House of Commons. Having sold the nation to you in gross they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail, for while they patronise your crimes they feel for their own."

In the next letter General Burgoyne is *personally* attacked, and the allusions were of a nature that could hardly fail to create suspicion as to the writer.

"I thank God there is not in human nature a degree of impudence daring enough to deny the charge I have fixed upon you. Your courteous secretary, your confidential architect, are silent as the grave. Even Mr. Rigby's countenance fails him; he violates his second nature, and blushes whenever he speaks of you. Perhaps the noble Colonel himself will relieve you. No man is more tender of his reputation. He is not only nice, but perfectly sore in everything that touches his honour. If any man, for example, were to accuse him of taking his stand at a gaming table, and watching with the soberest attention for

* These high-minded sentiments have induced some to believe that the character of Lord Chesterfield is at variance with that of Junius, but a recent record of his lordship's principles (*written about the time this transaction occurred*) will surely remove this ill founded prejudice. Is there a passage in the writings of the lofty Junius in any respect superior to the following extract from Lord Chesterfield's advice to his godson and heir?—

"If you should ever fill a great station at Court, take care above all things to keep your hands clean and pure from the infamous vice of corruption,—a vice so infamous that it degrades even the other vices that may accompany it; accept no present whatever; let your character in that respect be transparent, and without the least speck, for as avarice is the vilest and dirtiest vice in private, corruption is so in public life. I call corruption the taking of a sixpence more than the just and known salary of your employment under any pretence whatsoever; use what power and credit you may have at Court in the service of merit rather than of kindred, and not to get pensions and reversions for yourself or your family, for I call that also, what it really is, scandalous pollution, *though of late* it has been so frequent that it has almost lost its name."

a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at piquet, he would undoubtedly consider it as an infamous aspersion upon his character, and resent it like a man of honour. Acquitting him, therefore, of drawing a regular and splendid subsistence from any unworthy practices either in his own house or elsewhere, let me ask your Grace for what military merits you have been pleased to reward him with a military government."

The fact referred to in this passage might have been related by other frequenters of the gaming table, as well as by Lord Chesterfield; but the conduct of General Burgoyne after the death of Lord Chesterfield is strong presumptive evidence that his lordship was suspected. Nor is this the only instance in which Junius is connected with the character of Dupely* in the "*Maid of the Oaks*." In a letter dated 22nd June, 1771, Junius says "Make haste, my lord, another patent applied in time may keep the Oaks in the family. If not, Burnham Wood, I fear, must come to the *macaroni*."

It was probably this short sentence that confirmed the suspicions of General Burgoyne, and induced him to caricature Lord Chesterfield as a *macaroni* in his dramatic entertainment, "*THE MAID OF THE OAKS*."

But Junius has given more than this one instance of his intimacy with the habits of the frequenters of the gaming table. In his first letter to the Duke of Grafton (23rd April, 1768), he admits that Chartres now and then deviated into honesty.

As this declaration is not borne out by the only record which

* The character of Dupely in the *Maid of the Oaks*, is a young man supposed to have been educated on the plan recommended by Lord Chesterfield in his letters to his son. He is thus described at the opening of the piece:—

Lady Bab.—But hark! I hear the pastorals beginning; Lord, I hope I shall find a shepherd.

Oldworth.—The most elegant in the world—Mr. Dupely, Sir Harry's friend.

Lady Bab.—You don't mean Charles Dupely, who has been so long abroad.

Sir Harry.—The very same; but I am afraid he will never do, he is but half a *macaroni*.

Lady Bab.—And very possibly the worst half. It is a vulgar idea to think that foreign accomplishments fit a man for the polite world.

Sir Harry.—Lady Bab, I wish you would undertake him; he seems to have contracted all the common-place affectations of travel, and thinks himself quite an overmatch for the fair sex, of whom his opinion is as ill founded as it is degrading.

Lady Bab.—Oh, that is his turn. What, he has been studying some late posthumous letters—'twould be delightful to make a fool of such a fellow.

Act 1, Scene 1.

we have of the Colonel's *undeviating course of vice and profligacy*,* it would imply a *personal* acquaintance with that abandoned character, and if this be admitted it may give some clue to ascertain the age of Junius, for Colonel Chartres (when Junius made this assertion) had been dead upwards of *thirty-seven years*.

In addition to the Epitaph written by Dr. Arbuthnot, we have a sketch of the notorious Colonel in Lord Chesterfield's correspondence :—

“Colonel Chartres (whom you have certainly heard of, who was, I believe, the most notorious blasted rascal in the world, and who had, by all sorts of crime, amassed immense wealth) was so sensible of the disadvantage of a bad character, *that I heard him once say*, in his impudent profligate manner, that though he would not give one farthing for virtue he would give ten thousand pounds for a character, because he could get a hundred thousand pounds by it, whereas he was so blasted that he had no longer an opportunity of cheating people.”†

This conversation probably occurred at the gaming table, where only, it is presumed, Lord Chesterfield recognized so disreputable a character. During Lord Chesterfield's stay in England in 1730, he assisted at the council in which the report was made of Colonel Chartres' trial and condemnation at the Old Bailey for a rape he had not committed. His pardon was voted unanimously. The recollection of this circumstance seems to have been present in the mind of Junius when he wrote his first letter to the Duke of Grafton :—

“Chartres now and then deviated into honesty, and even Lord

* Here continueth to rot
The body of Francis Chartres,
Who, with an indefatigable constancy
And inimitable uniformity of life,
Persisted,
In spite of age and infirmities,
In the practice of every human vice,
Excepting prodigality and hypocrisy;
His insatiable avarice exempting him from the first,
His matchless impudence from the second.
Nor was he more singular in the *undeviating pravity*
Of his manners than successful
In accumulating wealth.—

ARBUTHNOT.

† Letter to his Son, 1750.

Colonel Chartres is said to have borrowed thirty thousand pounds in half crowns from his acquaintance.

Bute prefers the simplicity of seduction to the poignant pleasures of a rape."

The next instance which Junius gave of his intimacy with the habits of persons of this description is, perhaps, no less remarkable. It occurs in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, dated 20th Sept., 1768:—

"My Lord,—Permit me to have the honour of introducing you to a very amiable and valuable acquaintance. Mr. Ford is the gentleman I mean. Your lordship will forgive the timidity and bashfulness of his first address, and considering your quality condescend to make him some advances. There is a similarity in your circumstances, to say nothing of your virtues and understanding, which may lay the foundation of a solid friendship between you for the rest of your lives. Undoubtedly you are not quite unacquainted with a character on which you appear to have formed your own. His case was singular, my Lord, and cannot fail of exciting emotions of sympathy in your lordship's breast. This worthy man found himself exposed to a most malicious prosecution for perjury. A profligate jury found him guilty, and a cruel judge pronounced his sentence of imprisonment, pillory, and transportation. His mind was a good deal distressed in the course of this affair, (for he, too, is a man of delicate feelings), but his character, like yours, was above the reach of malice. Not to keep your lordship any longer in pain, I have the pleasure of telling you that when law and justice had done their worst, a lady in whom he seldom places any confidence at cards, was generous enough to stand his friend. *Fortune* discovered a flaw in the indictment; and now, my lord, in spite of an iniquitous prosecution, in spite of conviction and sentence, he stands as fair in his reputation as ever he did."

Whether this was *the* Mr. Ford who was once on terms of questionable intimacy with Lord Chesterfield has not been ascertained, but the companion of Lord Hillsborough was, probably, the gentleman to whom Junius refers in one of his earlier letters as "The reverend instrument of the Duke of Grafton," who was acquitted for his open and wicked interference in elections.*

* When Parson Ford, an infamous fellow but of much offhand and conversational wit, besought Lord Chesterfield to carry him over with him as his chaplain when his lordship went ambassador to Holland, he said to him, "I

Among the miscellaneous letters of Junius there is one containing an account of Lord Gower's election to the order of the Garter. It is signed A.B., dated 16th Feb., 1771:*

"Sir,—It is proper the public should be informed that upon Lord Gower's election to be a knight of the Garter, there were but four knights present besides the sovereign, and the Duke of Gloucester was lugged in to be one of them. He intreated, he begged, he implored, but all to no purpose. Poor Peg Trentham was forced to submit to an election which by the statutes of the order is void. Ashmole informs us, that to make up a complete chapter of election there should be assembled six knights companions, at least, beside the sovereign, the due observance of which hath been so strict formerly that elections have been deferred where chapters have been deficient in number.

The present way of electing Peg Trentham is for two reasons remarkable. It shows first, in what profound contempt poor Peggy is universally held; and, secondly, the *pious* resolution of our gracious Sovereign to introduce a new system of arithmetic. In the decision of the Middlesex election it was resolved that 296 were more than 1,143, and now we are told that four are equal to six. This puts *me* in mind of Lord March's election to the Coterie. All the balls were black; but the returning officer, George Selwyn, thought proper to swear he was duly elected, and he took his seat accordingly.—A. B.

Lord Chesterfield was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1730, and was installed on the 18th June with the Duke of Cumberland, and at the expense of his Sovereign, who was present at the ceremony. This honour, it is said, was the supreme object of his lordship's wishes, and it is fair to presume that in after life he would be jealous of any infringement of the statutes of the order. The *eclat* that attended his own installation is strongly contrasted

would certainly take you if you had one vice more than you already have.' "My Lord," said Ford, "I thought I should never be reproached for any deficiency in that way." "True," replied the Earl, "but if you had still one more almost worse than all the rest put together, it would hinder those from giving scandal." Lord Chesterfield, it appears, knew that Ford wanted that useful vice HYPOCRISY.

* The fact of Lord Gower's election was related in the Public Advertiser the day previous to the insertion of the above letter. This paragraph is also supposed to have come from the same hand, and carries with it strong features of Lord Chesterfield's ironical style of writing.—See Woodfall's Junius, Vol. III., p. 339.

with the circumstances of Lord Gower's election. That Junius should have noticed the circumstance in the manner he has done, unless he had been one of the order, is unlikely; and if this be admitted, it brings the identity of Junius within a very narrow compass, and will exclude nearly every one who has been suspected as having been the writer of the letters.

But there is another circumstance also alluded to in this letter that bears hard upon Lord Chesterfield as the author. The manner in which Lord March was "smuggled" into the *sanctum sanctorum* at White's, indicates that the writer, as a member of that celebrated coterie, was annoyed at the introduction of Lord March.*

It appears by the Selwyn correspondence, that Lord March had been rejected at White's in the spring, 1765,† but by *some means*, the wish of his friend, George Selwyn, was accomplished, for in a letter dated from White's in October, Lord March writes—"I am in haste to return to the *coterie*, having left them to write to Newmarket, and to send you this scrawl.‡

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the three persons named in this letter were not *friends* of Lord Chesterfield, but their private character must have been well known to his lordship. Lord Gower made his *debut* in public life at the time Lord Chesterfield came into office in 1745.

But to return to the subject of the suppression of Lord Chesterfield's manuscripts, we would direct the attention of the reader to the review of the late edition of Lord Chesterfield's correspondence. The writer, after paying a just encomium on the diligence of the noble editor, expresses his *surprise* and *disappointment* at the absence of novelty in the collection.

"We are, however, we must confess, somewhat surprised that his diligence has not brought out more of absolute novelty in this

* Lord Chesterfield might be considered the *father* at *White's* at the time the letters of Junius were written.

† Our friend (Lord March) goes on just as usual, opposing and disputing with every person every night at the Old Club, to the no small surprise of some of the new members, who have had perseverance enough to be duly elected, viz., Topham Beauclerk, James Walters, Sir George Pigot, and Dick Vernon. On finding them in such good humour, I started Lord March, but they swore he was now a foreigner, and rejected him.—*Williams to George Selwyn Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 361.

‡ Selwyn and his contemporaries, vol. 1., p. 414.

way. Mr. George Berkeley, we know, had kept carefully some specimens of Chesterfield's epistolary vein, even of the boyish Cambridge time. The writer obtained extraordinary repute in his earliest manhood, and he lived to the age of eighty in the enjoyment of all but unrivalled admiration. With such social connections and predilections—such literary habits and facility, his correspondence must have been vast; and even now we can have seen but a very insignificant fragment of it. WHERE IS IT? Even in those comparatively careless days, who could have burnt a letter of Lord Chesterfield's? We have no doubt that in the repositories of those who represent his various political and fashionable associates, innumerable relics must still be lying disinterred. Lord Mahon tells us that he enquired in vain at Bretby, but it was not there that we should have expected to find much. Lord Chesterfield was the last man to keep copies of his own letters; we should greatly doubt whether he ever wrote anything twice over in his life. But we are not told of any researches in places which we should have conjectured to have been among the likeliest for discovery. At Castle Ashby, for instance, at Stanmer, at Clumber, or Longleat, or Hagley. Among his closest connections was that with Mr. Waller, the last male representative of the poet himself, a man of extensive acquirements, an elegant scholar, through life a student. *Where are the Waller MSS.?* Has Mr. Upcott no information of their fate? Then is there not reason to suppose that a very considerable body of Chesterfield's papers exist in the Castle of Dublin. The Earl's brief vice-Royalty is, on the whole, the most honourable feature in his history. Some inedited letters or despatches of that date were quoted with effect a few years ago in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Normanby, but though the noble editor's attention was thus directed to the point, the result is *nil*. He states that his applications were received with the anticipated courtesy both of Lord Normanby and by the present Lord-Lieutenant, but not in either case were the desired documents placed at his disposal.—*Quarterly Review*.

The Lyttleton correspondence fails to furnish any particulars of Lord Chesterfield during the last *thirty years* of the strict intimacy which subsisted between those distinguished characters. Is it not extraordinary that among the Hagley Papers no letter from Lord Chesterfield could be found of later date than

the breaking up of the party who opposed Sir Robert Walpole? Among Lord Chesterfield's friends there was none for whom he entertained a more sincere regard than for Lord Lyttleton.*

The volumes of the Chatham Correspondence contain *fac similes* of the handwriting of almost every distinguished character named in the letters, except that of Lord Chesterfield, yet that was one which would have been most interesting to the public from its *extreme rarity*. Where are his Lordship's letters to Lord Chatham? Their correspondence must have been voluminous. Why have these also been suppressed? The editors of the Chatham Letters, it is true, have taken some pains to convince the public that Sir Philip Francis was the writer of the letters of Junius.

Lord Hervey, in his Memoirs, refers the reader to an elaborate letter written by Lord Chesterfield to George II., in 1732, when his Lordship was deprived of his employment at Court, in consequence of his opposition to the memorable excise scheme. This letter, the editor states, had been abstracted from the manuscript memoirs. That it would have appeared in no way inferior to the celebrated letter of Junius to the King, will not be doubted by those who remember the *spirit* in which Lord Chesterfield surrendered his office. His Lordship refused to resign, and compelled the King to send for the white staff which he held as Steward of the Household. He also advised his friends, Lords Cobham, Stair, and Westmoreland, "*for the sake of the cause* to put the minister to the trouble of taking away their places." The letter referred to in Hervey's Memoirs was written two days after Lord Chesterfield had been deprived of his place at Court. It is said his Lordship expressed in this letter his readiness to sacrifice everything for the King's service, except his honour and conscience. This letter, says Dr. Maty, certainly did not lessen the resentment of a Monarch who, by his contemporaries, is allowed to have been no dissembler. Lord Chesterfield took the first opportunity of going to Court, but he was so far from being graciously received that, contrary to his former intentions, he never again appeared in the Royal presence till the necessity of the times occasioned his recal."

Although Lord Chesterfield absented himself from Court, he

* Lord Lyttleton's integrity and judgment are unquestionable.—JUNIUS.

could not forbear indulging his propensity of addressing his Sovereign personally in the language of remonstrance. In the vindication of the Hanover Troops, we find a paragraph on this subject, which will remind the reader of similar passages in the writings of Junius :—

“Such a one will be glad to be armed with these arguments to combat the natural and blameless partiality of his prince. When he can say, “Sir, these things are now too well understood, and too warmly entertained by the whole nation, to be either attempted or compassed. They can no longer be made to believe that a squabble in Lower Saxony interests Great Britain, nor be prevailed upon to take part in it. Will you lose the affections and exhaust the strength of your kingdom for the addition of a Bailiage to your Electorate.”

But George II. was not the only monarch whom Lord Chesterfield had the boldness to offend by personal remonstrance. When his Lordship resigned his place as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard in 1725, he addressed the King in a manner that caused no little astonishment at the time. The only record we have of this speech is contained in a letter from Lady Hervey to Mrs. Howard—

“We have heard *great fame* of a speech Lord Stanhope made to the King, but almost every one has heard it in a different way. I fancy I have the truest account of it. We expect to see it in print.”

“This speech,” says the editor of the Suffolk Letters, “has not reached posterity. It was, probably, some ebullition of party spirit.”

The probability is that it related to the conduct of George I. towards the heir apparent who had just then been excluded from the regency by his father. Lord Chesterfield was shortly after appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales.

A similar *accident* to that which happened to Lord Hervey's manuscripts, occurred to a portion of Lady Hervey's correspondence which unfortunately comprised a period when Lord Chesterfield's name would probably have been often mentioned with applause. From the 25th April, 1745, to 24th Oct., 1747, her ladyship's letters to Mr. Morris are said *to have been lost!* This *accident* has deprived

the public of Lady Hervey's letters during the Scotch rebellion, and the time that Lord Chesterfield was viceroy of Ireland.

After a diligent search among the manuscripts in the British Museum only one solitary letter has been found in the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield. This is the more remarkable since his lordship's biographer was the principal librarian of that institution, and it might be presumed that some original documents in the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield would have been deposited there.

The last circumstance to which we shall allude is, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance of suppressing manuscripts *in connection with the name* of Lord Chesterfield.

"It is said that it was not till after the publication of Lord Chesterfield's letters that a late prelate put a codicil to his will enjoining his executor to bury all manuscripts which should be found in his bureau in the coffin with him."

"The manuscripts that were put into the late Bishop of Exeter's coffin with his corpse, according to his lordship's order, were not sermons as has been asserted, but a collection of letters he had received in the course of his life from some distinguished personages both abroad and at home."—*London Magazine*, Jan., 1778.

Though the burying of these manuscripts does not at first sight seem to bear any reference to Junius, yet, if we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture as to the subject of some of the buried manuscripts, it may be presumed that they related to a circumstance in which Junius is now supposed to have been concerned.

The pamphlet published in 1761, reflecting on the conduct of Lord Townshend is generally believed to be the production of Junius. The encouragement given to its circulation by Lord Albemarle caused a challenge to be sent by Lord Townshend. The parties met, but the duel was prevented by the interference of the civil authorities who had *privately* received notice of the hostile meeting. Horace Walpole says that the king "commissioned some of the matrons of the army to examine the affair and make it up." It is probable that the Bishop of Exeter (Lord Albemarle's brother) was included in this secret commission, and that the papers and correspondence relating to it were intrusted to his keeping. Nothing, however, is known as to the result of this private inquiry, but as Lord Townshend took no further steps to vindicate his honour, it may be presumed that Lord Albemarle acquitted himself of any

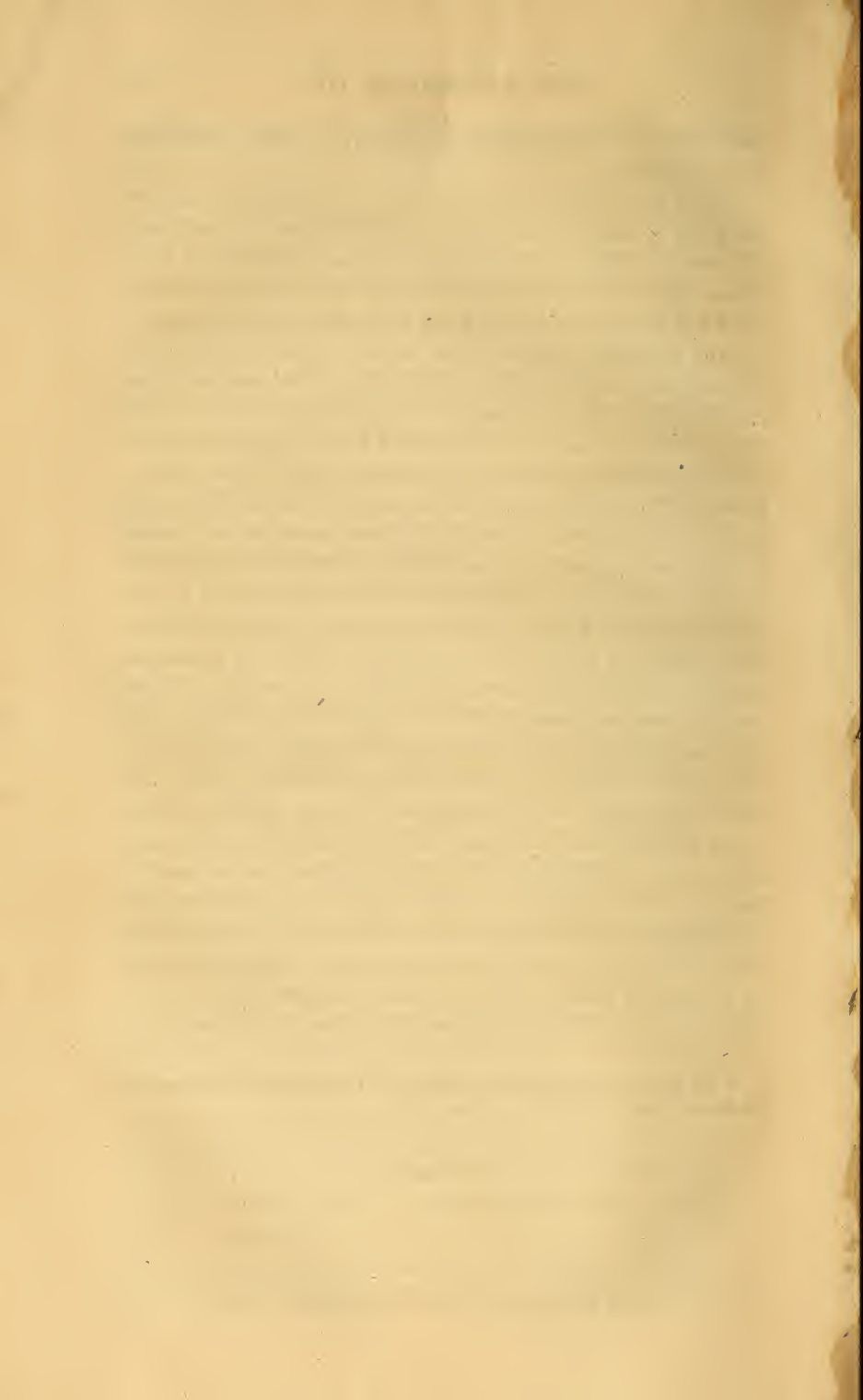
share in the libel beyond the encouragement he might have given to its circulation.

But if there was a desire on the part of the king to suppress the works of Lord Chesterfield, the letters enclosed in the Bishop of Exeter's coffin might also include the correspondence of Lord Chesterfield with the family of Albemarle, with whom his lordship had for so many years been on terms of intimacy and friendship.

The remaining facts in favour of the supposition that Lord Chesterfield was discovered to be the author of the letters of Junius consist chiefly of the suppression of every circumstance connected with the last few years of his lordship's life. Although we have memoirs and correspondence in abundance, written by the contemporaries of Lord Chesterfield, yet we search in vain for an impartial review of his character, or any the slightest record of the manner in which he occupied his time while the letters of Junius were written. Even Lord Chesterfield's death is passed over by the courtly writers of that day without one encomium on his merit, or, what perhaps is still more extraordinary, without one slanderous anecdote to tarnish the lustre of his name. An ominous silence seems to have been preserved by Walpole, Chatham, Burke, and even the Grenville family, on an event that might reasonably be supposed to have interested every circle of fashionable life.* The Court Guide itself, either *accidentally* or by *design*, falsified the date of his lordship's death, and has confounded that memorable event with an act of his lordship's life which took place some few months before. This error has convinced many that Lord Chesterfield could not have been Junius, but why all this effort to suppress the memory of so great a man and to leave posterity only *THE SHADOW OF A MIGHTY NAME*? We are unable to account for it upon any other grounds than that *the king and his ministers would have it so*.

* See Debrett's Peerage, which states that Lord Chesterfield died on the 4th June, 1772.

THE END.



FAC-SIMILE
AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

OF
JUNIOUS,
LORD CHESTERFIELD,
AND
MRS. C. DAYROLLES.

SHEWING THAT THE WIFE OF MR. SOLOMON DAYROLLES WAS THE
AMANUENSIS EMPLOYED IN COPYING THE LETTERS OF
JUNIOUS FOR THE PRINTER.

WITH
A POSTSCRIPT TO THE FIRST ESSAY ON JUNIOUS
AND HIS WORKS.

BY
WILLIAM CRAMP,
AUTHOR OF
"THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE."

LONDON:
HOPE & CO., 16, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1851.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Published Weekly, except on Sundays, Holidays, and Days when the Association is in Session, when it is published bi-weekly. The subscription price is \$5.00 per annum in advance. Single Copies, 15 Cents. The Journal is published for the Association by the American Medical Publishing Co., 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1902, under Post Office No. 383, at Chicago, Ill., under special agreement for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Postmaster: Send address changes in care of Editor.

Copyright, 1918, by American Medical Association. All rights reserved. Printed at the American Medical Publishing Co., 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription orders, notices of change of address, and all correspondence should be sent to the Editor, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. The Journal is not responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1902, under Post Office No. 383, at Chicago, Ill., under special agreement for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Postmaster: Send address changes in care of Editor.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

FIRST ESSAY ON JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS.

SINCE the publication of the Preliminary Essay on "JUNIUS and his WORKS," an opportunity has been kindly granted by Mr. H. D. Woodfall to examine the autographs of Junius, with the view of tracing in them the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield. Upon close inspection, however, it was found that the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield differed materially from the autographs of Junius, and especially in the formation of certain letters, as *k* and *j*—the down stroke of the *k* being either carried below the line, or terminated by a *curve* or *dot*; and, as regards the small *j*, it seems *never* to have been used by Lord Chesterfield. Even when it occurred in the middle of a word, his lordship used the capital *J*, or *something like it*, as a substitute for the small *dotted j*.

These singular deviations from the autograph of Junius, were in themselves sufficient to decide that the autographs in the possession of Mr. H. D. Woodfall were not the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield.

It was necessary, therefore, in order to complete the evidence that Lord Chesterfield was the *author* of the letters, to seek for an amanuensis among those who were *at that time* on terms of close intimacy with his lordship. Some letters of Mr. Dayrolles were examined, but on comparing them with the autographs of Junius, not the slightest resemblance could be traced. Fortunately, however, two letters were found in the handwriting

of Mrs. Dayrolles, and although dated so far back as the year 1760, they bore *unequivocal marks of identity when compared with the autographs of Junius*. The striking resemblance was at once recognised by the skilful artist who had just before decided that the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield was not the autograph of Junius.

But before we enter upon an examination of Mrs. Dayrolles' handwriting it will be advisable, perhaps, briefly to shew in what relation Mr. Dayrolles stood, in reference to Lord Chesterfield, at the time the letters of Junius were written.

Mr. Solomon Dayrolles had been attached to Lord Chesterfield from his earliest infancy, by the honour conferred upon him in having Lord Chesterfield as his godfather. This arose from the *friendship* which Lord Chesterfield had for Mr. James Dayrolles, the uncle of Mr. S. Dayrolles. The strong *affection* which Lord Chesterfield had for the latter, was avowed by his lordship on the death of the uncle, but it is sufficient for the purpose of this inquiry to state, that if any one could boast of having the entire confidence of Lord Chesterfield, it was Mr. S. Dayrolles. In the Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield, by Dr. Maty, it is recorded, that for some years before his lordship's decease, he had passed a very secluded life, seldom appearing in public, but that *Mr. Dayrolles was his constant companion*.

And it is remarkable that the last person mentioned by Lord Chesterfield a few moments before he expired, was his *friend* Dayrolles. So far, then, Mr. Dayrolles is traced as the companion of Lord Chesterfield during the time that the letters of Junius were in course of publication. It is not probable, therefore, that Lord Chesterfield could have concealed from Mr. Dayrolles, even if he had been inclined to do so, that he was writing the letters of Junius; neither could his lordship, with-

out some assistance, have carried on the correspondence with Woodfall.

In page 59 of the Essay we have hinted that Mr. Dayrolles might have been Lord Chesterfield's amanuensis, but having seen the handwriting of Mr. Dayrolles, it does not seem possible that he could have disguised it into so beautiful a specimen of penmanship as we find in many of the autographs of Junius. Besides, though Dayrolles' handwriting was not so well known as that of Lord Chesterfield, yet he had been too long, and *too recently*, employed at Court to run the risk of having his writing too commonly seen, however great the pains he might have taken to disguise it. But by engaging Mrs. Dayrolles to copy the letters, the danger was, in a great measure, removed; while Dayrolles himself had more leisure to obtain information for his friend for the carrying on of the correspondence in the *Public Advertiser*. Thus it appears that Lord Chesterfield, although partially infirm, was not destitute of sufficient assistance for the completion of his labours.

That Lord Chesterfield was capable of using his pen at the time the correspondence between Junius and Woodfall commenced, is satisfactorily proved by the *fac simile* of his Lordship's letter, dated July 7, 1767. Nor is there any evidence, except Lord Chesterfield's own letters, to shew that he was incapable of committing his thoughts to paper, even up to the time that Woodfall received the last private letter from Junius.

As Mr. Dayrolles was the only *man* perhaps in whose hands Lord Chesterfield could trust his life and honour, so the wife was probably the only *woman* that Lord Chesterfield would have consented to receive assistance from in the hazardous undertaking in which he had involved himself. But Lord Chesterfield was too well acquainted with the dangers that attend the publication of anonymous

libels not to appreciate the value of Mrs. Dayrolles' services, and with such an assistant, he felt himself comparatively safe, so long as she remained true to him, her husband, and herself.

In examining the *fac-simile* of Mrs. Dayrolles' letter, it will be necessary to bear in mind that it was written several years before the commencement of the private correspondence of Junius with Woodfall. Every one is aware of the changes which take place at different stages of life in the general appearance of handwriting. There are many who are not able to recognise, *off-hand*, their own autographs if written at distant intervals, but the distinctive marks are seldom obliterated in a hand that has any pretensions to originality. Thus, in Lord Chesterfield's *Autograph Letters*, his peculiarities are traceable through the several stages of his improvement in penmanship.

In Mrs. Dayrolles' letter, the distinctive marks of Junius's handwriting are strongly developed; and although there is more space between the words, and a greater freedom than is to be found in some of the autographs of Junius, yet her letter contains all the elements for forming itself by care and practice into the hand of the private letters to Woodfall.

There are other causes also which would curb the flow of Mrs. Dayrolles' pen, and approximate her style of writing to the autographs of Junius. The handwriting of the private letters from Junius is evidently disguised, and in some instances so much so as to require considerable attention in order to discover the elements of the writer's usual autograph? If it be admitted that Junius employed an amanuensis, the time required in *copying* would be longer than that occupied by Junius in *composing* his familiar letters; and in this case the amanuensis could scarcely avoid adopting in some degree

the fashion of Junius's handwriting. This will account for the *neatness* and *precision* of many of the autograph letters—more especially those whereon greater pains had been bestowed in transcribing, and these in many particulars resemble the handwriting of Lord Chesterfield.

The limited number of Mrs. Dayrolles' letters will not admit a minute comparison, but as far as single letters and words can be compared with the autograph of Junius, the resemblance is complete, and in many instances the identity of handwriting is very remarkable—such as in the formation of the letters *a, s, p, w, &c.*, and in the words *have, be, well, are, conspicuous*, and many others pointed out in the table of comparisons.

But the *fac similes* are before the reader, and as the autographs of Junius become familiar to him, he will find no difficulty in tracing the resemblance. In this pursuit the accuracy of the *fac simile* letters may be implicitly relied on, for when compared with the originals it is impossible to discover the *slightest deviation* from the autographs. For this perfection the writer of this Essay is indebted to a gentleman who did him the honour to recommend Mr. Frederick Netherclift, of King William-street, Strand—an artist whose skill in his profession is unrivalled. On this point the gentleman spoke from experience, having had frequent occasion to employ Mr. Netherclift in taking *fac similes* which required the nicest tact to arrive at perfection, but in no instance whatever have his expectations been disappointed. They have invariably proved to be (what such things very rarely are) in truth and indeed, *fac similes* of the copy set before the artist.

The discovery of a handwriting worthy to be compared with the autographs of Junius has not been made without a laborious research, and some personal inconvenience. But it was necessary to satisfy the

public upon this point, that the prejudices of some and the bias of others should no longer stand in the way of a *fair inquiry* into the claims of so distinguished a candidate as Lord Chesterfield. This task would, perhaps, have been unnecessary if the character of Lord Chesterfield, *as a political writer*, had been better known; for the letters of Junius, when divested of their slander, will prove to be only *a repetition* of Lord Chesterfield's doctrines and opinions. It matters little who was the *transcriber* of the letters, (whether Philip Francis, or Mrs. Dayrolles) the MIND of Chesterfield alone could have *dictated* them. This will be clearly shown when the chain of evidence is produced, which wanted this link only to fix the authorship *for ever* upon LORD CHESTERFIELD.

The writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge the great obligation he is under to Mr. H. D. Woodfall, for the liberal and courteous manner in which he has, on several occasions, permitted him to have access to the Junius manuscripts, and more particularly for the favour of being permitted to take *fac similes* of two of the most interesting of the autograph private letters of Junius. The first *fac simile* is remarkable as being the earliest private letter preserved by Mr. H. S. Woodfall, the other is the last letter which Junius wrote to his publisher. The address (copied from one of the letters) was published in Mr. Woodfall's edition, and is here reprinted as a specimen of the bold and masterly style of writing which is to be found in many of the manuscripts of Junius. The literal and verbal comparisons are taken in many instances from the several *fac similes* of Junius's autograph, given in Mr. Woodfall's edition of 1812.

Fac-simile of Lord Chesterfield's hand, writing at the time Junius corresponded with Woodfall.

My dear Mr. Chesterfield

London Feb. 1. 1734.
Dublin, there is no one instance to be found of a sober
high Sheriff. Remember Ist William Temple's wife,
and consider that every glass of wine that you drink
beyond the Rhine, is for Looze, the only enemy that I believe
you have on the world. I am sure you have a friend,
though a very useful¹⁰ one in your faithful
servant.

I hope your fair fellow
traveller is well.

Wm. Temple



My worthy Friend.

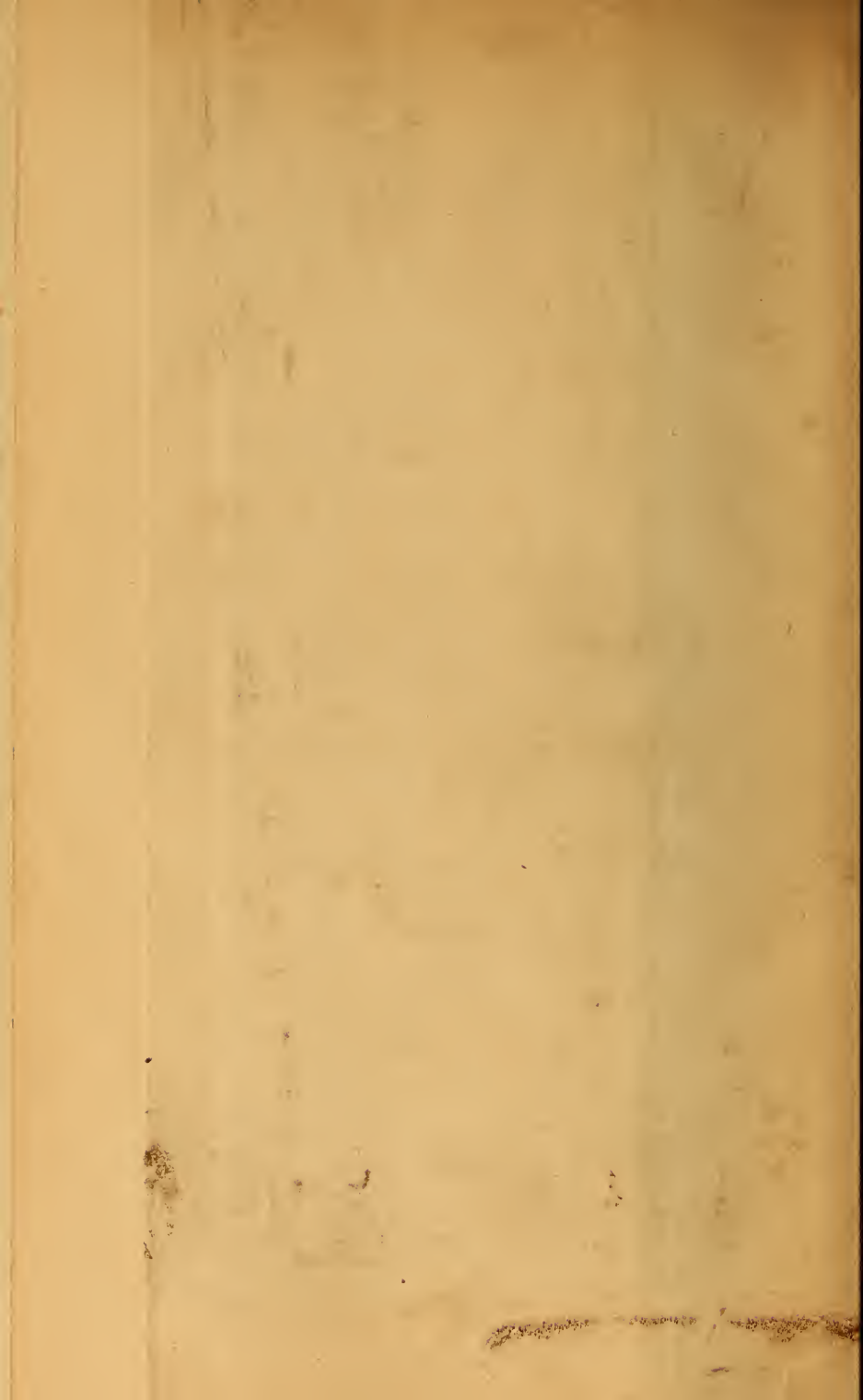
London July 4^e 7th 1767

I am to thank you, and I heartily do thank you, for your kind and welcome present. You have clothed your old friend the Dean very richly, and suitably to his merit, and your own present dignity; but after all the poor Dean pays dear for his own fame, since every scrap of paper of his, every Ribus, Quibble, Pun and conversation joke is to be published, because it was his. It is true his Bog-
-tells are much better than other people's, but still many of them, I believe he would have been sorry to have had published. How does your new dignity agree with you? Do you manfully withstand the attacks of Claret, or do you run into the danger to avoid the apprehension? You may set the fashion of Sobriety if you please, and a singular one it will be, for I dare say that in the records of Dublin, there is no one instance to be found of a sober high Sheriff. Remember S^r William Temple's rule, and consider that every glass of wine that you drink beyond the third, is for Foote, the only enemy that I believe you have in the world. I am sure you have a friend, though a very useful one in

Your faithful
servant.

I hope your fair fellow
traveller is well

Chesterfield



Ms. A. 1760, (Brit. Mus.)

1770.

Mrs Dayrolle

Con... write in
be... enquiry... enquiries

I... wish you
Loving... when any
he... Tom Dayrolle
wind friend.

the... Feb.

no... of your
after... will not be
ne... this is

who... are so

I... but his

in... from one

not... hear it

as 1768 C. L. M. 1760.



Table of Comparisons taken from Two Autograph Letters of Mrs Dayrolle 1760, (Brit. Mus.)
and from Autographs and Published Fac-similes of Junius 1770.

Junius.

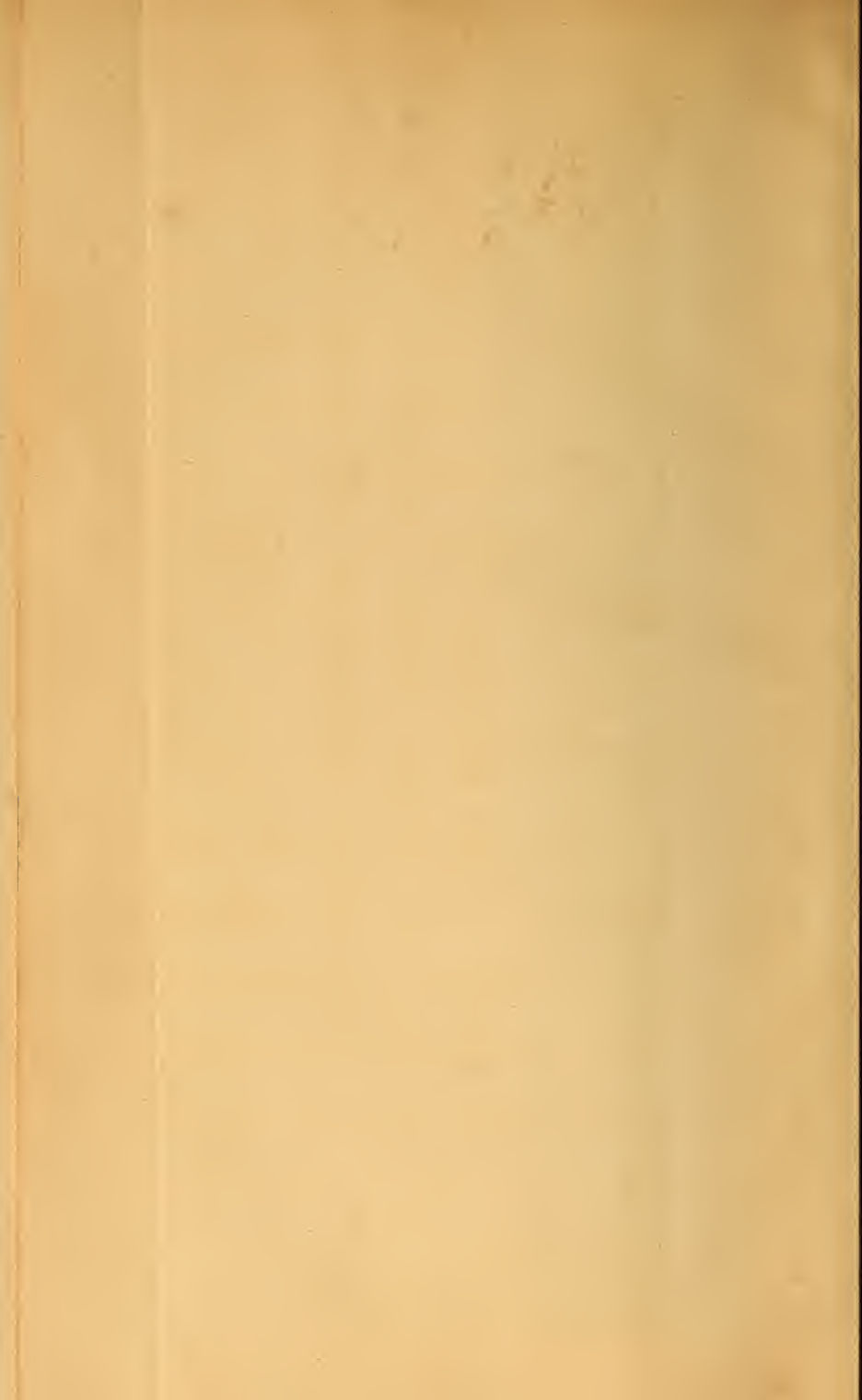
Mrs Dayrolle

conspicuously conspicuous
very great very great
I have to be I have to be
Lovers pardon London
papers paper newspaper
without without
that wo^d not that would not
with time fourth time
assured assure
never shall ever shall
who know who who know
I can have I can have
in the new in the new
not to not to
as I am as I am

Junius.

Mrs Dayrolle

writing write in
inquires inquiry enquiries
wish you wish you
when any when any
Go David Tom Dayrolle
friend. friend. friend.
For Feb.
of yours of yours
will not be will not be
This is This is
are so are so
but his but his
from one from one
hear it hear it
C. L. M. 1760 C. L. M. 1760.



Fac-simile Letter of Mrs C. Dayrolle, Wife of the deceased

as you are the source of news I can inform
you none but what you have perhaps
perceived yourself - domestic occurrences are so well
set forth in the news paper that I will not
take up your time to mention any. Our
friend General Webb is in town looks extremely
well.



^{Mr. Woodfall}
Sir. I am preparing a paper, which you shall have on or before
Saturday night. Advertise it for Monday - Junius on Monday
Many enquiry is made about these
papers, I shall rely on yr. giving me a hint. C

To Mr. Printer Woodfall

I am

Y^r Obedient Servant.

19. Jan. I have seen the signals thrown out for y^r. old friend &
Correspondent. be assured that I have had good reason for not
complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were
to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned
Cattle, that run mad thro' the City, or as any of your wise
Aldermen. I mean the Cause & the public. both are given up.
I feel for the honour of this Country, when I see that there
are not ten Men in it, who will unite & stand together upon
any one question. But it is all alike vile & contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; & I shall
always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.
If you have any thing to communicate, (of moment to
yourself) you may use the last Address I give a hint.

and in good spirits Mr. Dargatzle desire
me to advise you of his best temp^{ts}
my wife son your best goodson salutes
you and am Dr Sir

Yours sincere friend
and Hum^{ble} servant
J. Dargatzle

M^r. Woodfall

~~never, made me was not interesting, nor of any importance~~

Aldermen. I meant the Cause of the public. both are given up.
I feel for the honour of this Country, when I see that there
are not ten Men in it, who will unite & stand together upon
any one question. But it is all alike vile & contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; & I shall
always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.

If You have any thing to communicate, [of moment to
Yourself] you may use the last Address, & give a hint.

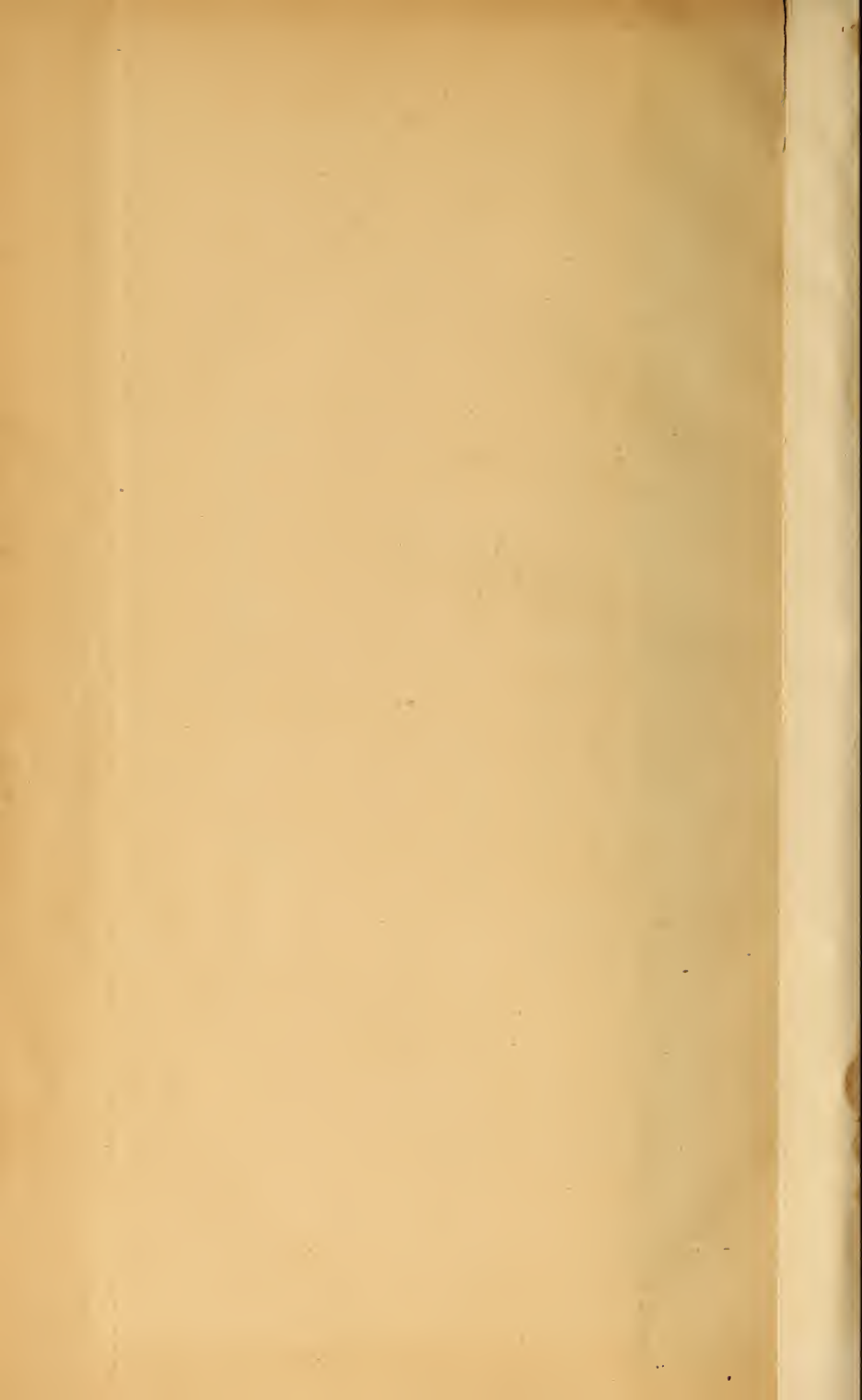


*Fac-simile Letter of M^{rs} C. Dayrolle, Wife of the dearest
Friend, and constant companion of Lord Chesterfield.*

J. Sir

I flatter myself this letter will not be
unwelcome to you as it encloses one from
the Dutches of Artemberg for you. I even
think that without it you would be glad
to hear the Dayrolles are alive and well
and hope you will give us the pleasure
of hearing that you are so likewise.

as you are the source of news I can write
you none but what you have perhaps
perid yourself - Domestic occurrences are so well
set forth in the newspaper that I will not
take up your time to mention any. Our
friend General Webb is in town looks extremely
well



2.773.15

Wesley. Lodge

AN ESSAY
ON THE
AUTHENTICITY OF THE FOUR
LETTERS OF ATTICUS,
INCLUDED IN WOODFALL'S EDITION
OF
JUNIIUS.

"When once we shall have got hold of a right conjecture as to who was the writer, every date, fact, and incident in his life must offer itself in proof, and we shall have more than enough of these to settle the question beyond all cavil."—*Athenaeum*, No. 1194, p. 969.

BY WILLIAM CRAMP,

AUTHOR OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE, ETC. ETC.

LONDON:
HOPE & CO., 16, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1851.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Editor of the "Athenæum," who professes to know so much about "JUNIUS AND HIS WORKS," has laughed to scorn the judgment of Dr. Good, for his selection of the miscellaneous letters of Junius. It will be found (with very few exceptions) that these letters contain sufficient "internal evidence" to justify the choice of the learned editor, and if Dr. Good had known or suspected that Lord Chesterfield was Junius, the bulk of the miscellaneous letters might have been greatly increased, for the pages of the Public Advertiser, as far back, probably, as the commencement of the reign of George III., contain "innumerable trifles," contributed by Lord Chesterfield—many authenticated by his initial C. These are easily recognisable from others under that signature, by their style and peculiar political bearing—the surest test of determining the authenticity of anonymous publications.

The genuine letters of Atticus ceased on the appearance of Junius. When some other writer afterwards adopted that signature, it was publicly announced by Woodfall, that the letters were not written by his own correspondent.

The Athenæum has "pronounced judgment" that, on the publication of the Stowe MSS. it will be found that Junius was "*a middle-class man*," and it is not improbable that an attempt may be again made to affiliate the letters on some junior clerk in a public office. But let the English nation look to it—Junius was the champion of the people—whatever gratitude they owe him should not be again diverted towards an unworthy object. The *genuine* letters contain abundant proofs that Chesterfield was the writer—whether a republication of these will meet with encouragement remains to be proved—but evidence is already before the public, and that derived almost from the miscellaneous letters, sufficient to convince any *unprejudiced* reader that Lord Chesterfield was the only person at that time capable of writing the letters of Junius.

JUNIUS IN THE CHARACTER OF ATTICUS.

AN ESSAY ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FOUR LETTERS OF
ATTICUS INCLUDED IN WOODFALL'S EDITION OF JUNIUS.

If I were a party writer, the indiscretion of the *ministerial advocates* would give one as many advantages as even the *wretched conduct* of the ministry themselves. But I write for the public, and in that view hold myself far above a little triumph over men *whose compositions are as weak as the cause they defend*.—ATTICUS.

When such *wretched advocates* and profligate panegyrists of corruption, oppression, fraud, and all political immorality, direct their satire at one man, it is marking him out to the public as a person eminently distinguished by all the opposites of those vices. *The execution of their design is as injudicious as the design itself*.—CHESTERFIELD, in *Vindication of Lord Lyttleton*.

The letters signed *Atticus* were written before Junius had acquired notoriety under his well-known signature. They preceded the death of Mr. Philip Stanhope only a few weeks, and may be regarded as the gathering of that storm which, after the death of Mr. Stanhope, burst upon the ministers with unmitigated fury. Indeed, one of these letters, dated 19th October, 1768, is little more than a rough draft of the first celebrated letter of Junius, published on the 21st January, 1769.

It is no valid argument against the authenticity of these letters, "That others are to be found under the same signature in the 'Public Advertiser' both before and after those selected by Dr. Good." The question is, whether they bear the like "internal evidence" which induced the editor to give the four which he selected a place among the miscellaneous writings of Junius. That he was right in doing so, will perhaps appear from the remarks and examples contained in this essay.

"*Disquisitions on the fluctuations of the funds, commerce, and the decline of the empire*," were favourite themes with Lord Chesterfield. Upon these subjects he could write with ease and fluency, for in active life they had often occupied his thoughts, and in his retirement frequently gave birth to gloomy apprehensions and melancholy forebodings.

Nor are the letters of *Atticus* without their proportion of evidence to connect them with the writings of Junius. The like phrases, sentiments, and personal feelings are observable throughout. The examples given will be sufficient to identify *Atticus*

with both Junius and Lord Chesterfield, for almost every paragraph may be applied with strict propriety to either character.

The frequent allusion to the funds, and "the practices in the alley," indicates that Junius was deeply interested in that kind of property. Though the assertion made by Atticus in the opening of his first letter, "that he had lately sold out," was probably a fiction deemed necessary to the plan of his letter, and assumed for the purpose of introducing his opinions on trade, and the exhausted revenues of Great Britain, yet the writer might have felt some alarm, and contemplated *landing* himself from a troubled ocean of fear and anxiety. In similar language, Lord Chesterfield described his retirement from office in 1748, and "thanked God that he was safe and quiet *on shore*"—no longer tossed on the troubled ocean of politics.

The prevailing characteristic of these letters (indicative of the writer's temperament to despond) was pointed out by his contemporaries. In answer to this charge, Atticus vindicated himself in his second letter. "If a real misfortune were lessened by concealment—if, by *shutting our eyes* to our weakness, we could give our enemies an opinion of our strength—none but a traitor would withdraw the veil which covered the nakedness of our country." And in his fourth letter he says: "In this and my former letters, I have presented to you, with plainness and sincerity, the *melancholy condition* to which we are reduced."

In his first letter as Junius the same *melancholy disposition* is evinced, and elicited from Sir W. Draper observations similar to those which the letters of Atticus the year before had called forth. "This letter," says Sir W. Draper, "opens the *deplorable situation* of this country in a very affecting manner."

This characteristic has also frequently been pointed out by commentators on the genuine letters of Junius. The editor of the new edition found some difficulty in reconciling a passage in the first letter with the character of Sir Philip Francis.

"This deplorable scene," says Junius, "admits but of one addition, that we are governed by counsels from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death."

"At first reading," says Mr. Wade, in a note from Heron, "we might regard this and some other similar figures, as merely useless and extravagant. But more careful consideration will induce us to forego this opinion. It is the master art of these letters of Junius that they are addressed equally, on the one hand, to the taste, reason, and spirit of intrigue of the *great*, and on the other hand, to the prejudices, and fierce abusive spirit of the *vulgar*. For the sake of the latter, some slight occasional sacrifices were to be made by taste. Of these, the

present EXTRAVAGANT FIGURE is one. It seems just a sally of genius and dignity of mind descending as far as it is possible for them to descend to the coarseness of vulgar abuse. Never was coarseness better reconciled with dignity than in these letters."

Had Mr. Heron suspected Lord Chesterfield as the author of the letters of Junius, his difficulty would have been removed, for he might have traced in the writings of Lord Chesterfield this remarkable characteristic of Junius.

Whenever Lord Chesterfield was dissatisfied with the measures of government he was accustomed to indulge in these gloomy and melancholy forebodings. This peculiar trait in the character of one who was celebrated for his lively parts and philosophical resignation, is noticed by his lordship's biographer (Works, vol. i. pp. 296, 340), and in his letters to Mr. Dayrolle he frequently betrayed this remarkable feature in his character. In 1756 he writes :—"These are not the gloomy apprehensions of a *sick man*; but real facts, obvious to whoever will see and reflect. One of the chief causes of this unfortunate situation is that we have now in truth no minister, but the administration is a mere republic, and carried on by the Cabinet Council, the individuals of which think only how to get the better of each other. Let us then *turn our eyes as much as we can from this melancholy prospect*, which neither of us can mend, and think of something else."—(Works, vol. ii. p. 189.) And a few days after he wrote, "We are no longer a nation. I never saw so dreadful a prospect."

"I am not surprised," says Atticus, "that the generality of men should endeavour to *shut their eyes to this melancholy prospect*. Yet I am filled with grief and indignation when I behold a wise and gallant people lost in a stupidity which does not feel because it will not look forward. The voice of one man will hardly be heard when the voice of truth and reason is neglected, but as far as mine extends, the authors of our ruin shall be marked out to the public. I will not *tamely* submit to be sacrificed, nor shall this country perish without a warning."—(Vol. iii. p. 176.)

"If there be yet a spark of virtue left among us, this great nation shall not be sacrificed to the fluctuating interests and wayward passions of a minister, nor even to the caprices of a monarch. If there be no virtue left, it is no matter who are ministers, nor how soon they accomplish our destruction."—(Vol. iii. p. 189.)

These passages indicate that Atticus was preparing to come before the public in a more prominent character, and that the crisis of his indignation against the Duke of Grafton was fast approaching. Philip Stanhope was dying when the letters of Atticus were published, and expired on the 16th November, 1768.

But the letters of Atticus are not only remarkable for their despondency, they also betray the querulous tone of old age. The Duke of Grafton, who was then in his thirty-fourth year (and five years the senior of Sir P. Francis), is described as a mere boy—and he and his associates in the ministry are thus graphically delineated.

"Yet these are the times, sir, when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attending to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the prosecution of a prisoner in the King's Bench, or to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependants. If there be a good man in the King's service, they dismiss him of course, and when bad news arrives, instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes with some half misbegotten measure, which is *left to execute itself*.* Away they go. One retires to a country-house—another is *engaged at a horse-race*—a third has an appointment with a prostitute—and as to their country, they leave her, like a cast-off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her."

Throughout these disputed letters we find the same contempt betrayed in reference to the age and inexperience of the Duke of Grafton, which Junius afterwards so frequently noticed when taunting the King in the choice of so *young* a minister. In the first letter we have seen that Atticus described the fiery duke as an *ignorant boy*, in his third letter his grace is not only a *young man*, but a *young man* without *solidity or judgment*, and he extenuates the *amusements* of this *young man* and will not call them criminal, if his grace will only *dignify his vices* by a due observance of *decorum*. And in his fourth letter he says, "In vain may we look for the temper and firmness of a great minister;—we shall find nothing but the passion or *weakness of a boy*—the enervated languor of a consumption, or the false strength of a delirium."

There are but few moralists who would venture to inculcate the doctrine, that *vice* may be *dignified* by the observance of a proper regard for decorum. Yet this extraordinary license against the acknowledged precepts of morality is contained both in the writings of Junius and of Lord Chesterfield. A few instances will suffice to convince the reader that the *same mind* gave utterance to the sentiments expressed in the following parallels:—

* The expression, an Act of Parliament *executing itself*, is traceable to Lord Chesterfield. In his lordship's memorable speech on the Gin Act, 1743, he said in defence of the existing law, that "its only defect was that it would not *execute itself*."

JUNIUS.

His private history would but little deserve our attention, if he had not voluntarily brought it into public notice. I will not call the amusements * of a young man criminal, though I think they become his age better than his station. There is a period at which the most unruly passions are gratified or exhausted, and which leaves the mind clear and undisturbed. His Grace's gallantry would be offended if we were to suppose him within many years of being thus qualified for public affairs. As for the rest, making every allowance for the frailty of human nature, I can make none for a continued breach of public decorum.—*Atticus*.

If vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain disapproval of it, a certain outrage to

CHESTERFIELD.

Do not think that I mean to snarl at pleasure like a stoic, or to preach against it like a parson. No, I mean to point it out, and recommend it to you like an epicurean. A sprightly *debauche*, now and then, is very well, but the dull, sedate, and continued guzzling of claret is very unbecoming to a young fellow.

Should you be unfortunate enough to have vices, you may, to a certain degree, even dig-

* Junius, a short time before, had told the public what were the amusements of the Duke of Grafton—horse-racing—the hazard table, and exhibiting the lovely Thais at the Opera House. These, it appears, were not criminal in the eyes of Junius, unless accompanied by a breach of *public decorum*.

Although Lord Chesterfield, by his essay on "DECORUM" introduced the *Latin form* of this word into general use, it cannot be said to have been *naturalised* until the publication of Junius's letters in 1772; that writer missed no opportunity of employing it in its *English form*, by omitting the distinction of *italics*. Even within a year or two before Junius had captivated the literary world by his style, we find Lord Chesterfield still endeavouring to accomplish his purpose. In a letter to his God-son, in 1765-6, he writes, "Discretion will teach you to have a particular attention to your *mœurs*, which we have no one word in our language to express exactly—*morals* are too much, *manners* too little—decency comes the nearest to it, though rather short of it." Cicero's word, *decorum*, is properly the thing, and I see no reason why that expressive word should not be *adopted* and *naturalised* in our language. I have never scrupled using it in that sense."—*Letters*, Vol. ii. p. 422.

decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven.

nify them by a strict observance of decorum.—*Advice to his Godson.*

So far, we see the character of Atticus strictly agreeing with that of Lord Chesterfield *under similar circumstances*. But the proofs do not rest here. The parallel sentiments are so exact, that scarcely two minds would have *accidentally* illustrated their opinions in the following remarkable manner:—

ATTICUS.

The policy of concealment is no better than the wisdom of a prodigal, who wastes his estate without reflection, and has not courage to examine his accounts.

I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself.

To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, because vulgar minds make no distinction between the highly difficult and the impossible.

The greatness of a kingdom cannot long be stationary. That of Great Britain, carried in itself, an interior principle of weakness and decay. While the war continued, our superiority at sea gave us an exclusive commerce with the richest quarters of the world, and supplied us with wealth to support such efforts as no nation ever made before. But when the conclusion of peace had restored our rivals to the enjoyment of their former trade, the very efforts which had maintained the war, rendered it impossible for us to meet those rivals upon equal terms, &c.—*Atticus.*

CHESTERFIELD.

The man who by long negligence, owes a great deal, despairs of ever being able to pay, and, therefore, never looks into his accounts.

Your apprenticeship is near out, and you are soon to set up for yourself.

Sense must distinguish between what is impossible and what is only difficult, and spirit and perseverance will get the better of the latter.

If the balance of trade be against you, *that is*, if you buy more than you sell, you must necessarily make up that difference in money and your bullion, or your coin, which are, in effect, the same thing, *must* and *will* be exported, in spite of all laws. But if you sell more than you buy, then foreigners must do the same by you, and make up their deficiency in bullion or coin. Gold and silver are but merchandise as well as cloth or linen, and that nation that buys the least and sells the most, must always have the most money.—*Axioms in Trade.*

The following verbal peculiarities, occurring in the letters of Atticus (identifying that writer as the author of the letters of Junius), may be compared with the *diction* of Lord Chesterfield:—

JUNIUS AS ATTICUS.

But it was in the colonies where our best and surest hopes were founded. Their exclusive commerce would have supported our home-manufactures when other markets failed, and rewarded us, in some measure, for that security and extent of dominion which *the blood and treasure* of this country had purchased for them.

In my last letter, I foretold the great fall of the stocks, which has since happened, and I do not scruple to foretell that they *must and will* fall much lower.

But I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit *must and will* produce.

The colonies were dutiful children and Great Britain a *severe step-mother*.

In the first place, I consider this country as in a situation the like of which it never experienced before, but which the greatest empires have experienced in their turns.

CHESTERFIELD.

The people of England could not be induced to submit to new taxes and impositions, in order to destroy that balance of power which, at such an incredible expense of *blood and treasure*, they had endeavoured to render immoveable, nor the House of Austria to be undone, that the petty princes of Germany might aggrandise themselves out of spoil.—*Case of the Hanover troops.*

And your bullion or your coin, which are, in effect, the same thing, *must and will* be exported in spite of all law.—*Maxims in Trade.*

Rejoice, therefore, that there is one person in the world, who *can and will* tell you what will be very useful to you to know, and yet, what no other man living *could or would* tell you.—*Letters.*

For my part, I never saw a froward child mended by whipping, and I would not have the mother-country become a *step-mother*.—*Letters.*

What conclusions you will draw from these premises, I do not know, I protest I draw none; but only stare at the present undecipherable state of affairs, which, in fifty years' experience, I have never seen anything like it.

As for the rest, making every allowance for the *frailty of human nature*, I can make none for a continued breach of *decorum*, nor can I believe that man very zealous for the interest of his country, *who sets her opinions at defiance*.

JUNIUS AS ATTICUS.

This treatment of the colonies, added to his refusal to present a petition from one of them to the King (a direct breach of the Declaration of Rights), will naturally *throw them all into a flame*.

Yet the first act of his administration, was to impose a tax upon America, which has since *thrown the whole Continent into a flame*.

In the last instance of his Grace's judgment and consistency, we see him, after trying and deserting every party, *throw himself into the arms of a set of men* whose political principles he had always pretended to abhor.

If I were a party writer, the indiscretion of the ministerial advocates would give me as many advantages as even the *wretched* conduct of the ministry themselves.

In this single sentence of Atticus, we find three expressions indicative of the author. *The frailty of human nature* was Lord Chesterfield's excuse for his vices. His rigid observance of *decorum* dignified those vices, and the phrase, *to set at defiance* was one of the common phrases of Junius, and may be found in the writings of Lord Chesterfield.

CHESTERFIELD.

Should the noble lord's motion be agreed to, my lords, and the news of it sent over to France, as it certainly would, the very next dispatch would tell them that *the nation were in a flame*, and the Government would not be supported by the people.—*Debate on the Treaties, 1757.*

Did we not oblige Spain *to throw herself entirely into the arms of France*, by which we again united the two great branches of the house of Bourbon?—*Debate, 1734.* See, also, the same expression used in this debate, and in "Common Sense," No. 103.

The character of the Duke of Argyle, nay, even the *wretched* President, will all pretend to have something to say.—*Let. to Lord Lyttleton.*

That *wretched* creature, Lord
Townsend.

You see in the public papers,
the *wretched* situation of our
foreign affairs.—*Let. to Lord
Marchmont.*

Your *wretched* friend, that
miserable sergeant.

It has been pointed out as a singularity, that Junius uses "*of* his side," instead of "*on* his side," &c., but the peculiarity is, that Junius uses *both* forms of expression, and in this particular also agrees with Lord Chesterfield.

JUNIUS AS ATTICUS.

Here, my Lord, you have fortune of your side.—Vol. ii. p. 169.

I am persuaded he would have the reasonable part of the Americans *of his side*.

CHESTERFIELD.

You had not the necessary arms for victory, for you had only justice *of your side*, which in Scotland as well as here, is not alone sufficient.—Vol. iii. p. 94.

We will close these extracts with an example of a peculiarity in diction of apparently trivial import, but rendered remarkable by its having been observed by Atticus in his letters, and, so far, keeps up the connexion between that writer and Junius.

Antipathies to *things* are familiar in the experience of every one, but it has not perhaps been generally observed that sensitive minds have often antipathies to *words*, not because the words are in themselves vulgar or improper, but from some association of ideas that renders their use disagreeable to the individual. This prejudice has occasioned some grammarians to decry certain words which to their own ears alone were objectionable. The word *dint* has long been repudiated as vulgar, though no term has been substituted to express the exact meaning which that word implies. Under the impression of this kind of antipathy Lord Chesterfield struck the word *namely* from the vocabulary of Philip Stanhope, and desired him to use the phrase "which is," or "that is," as a substitute. In his own works *the word namely never occurs*, though he did not scruple occasionally to adopt the more objectionable abbreviation *viz.* in its stead.

The same avoidance of the use of the word *namely* is rigidly adhered to by Junius in his Letters. During the five years that he wrote for the "Public Advertiser" *it is in no instance introduced*. He invariably prefers "that is" or "*viz.*," where other good writers would not have scrupled to use *namely*, and perhaps in

preference to the more formal "that is," recommended by Lord Chesterfield. In some instances, indeed, Junius does not seem to have added much grace to the flow of his periods by his strict adherence to the *then unpublished* instructions of Lord Chesterfield.

"Yet, even if that were determined, another question remains full of difficulty and danger;—*that is*, in what manner the public will avail themselves of this great right, decided by nothing but a vote in Parliament."—*Atticus*.

In this example it will be seen that the printer, in order to comply with the writer's prejudice, was compelled to *cobble* the sentence, by inserting both a semicolon and a dash where a comma would have been sufficient if the word *namely* had been employed.

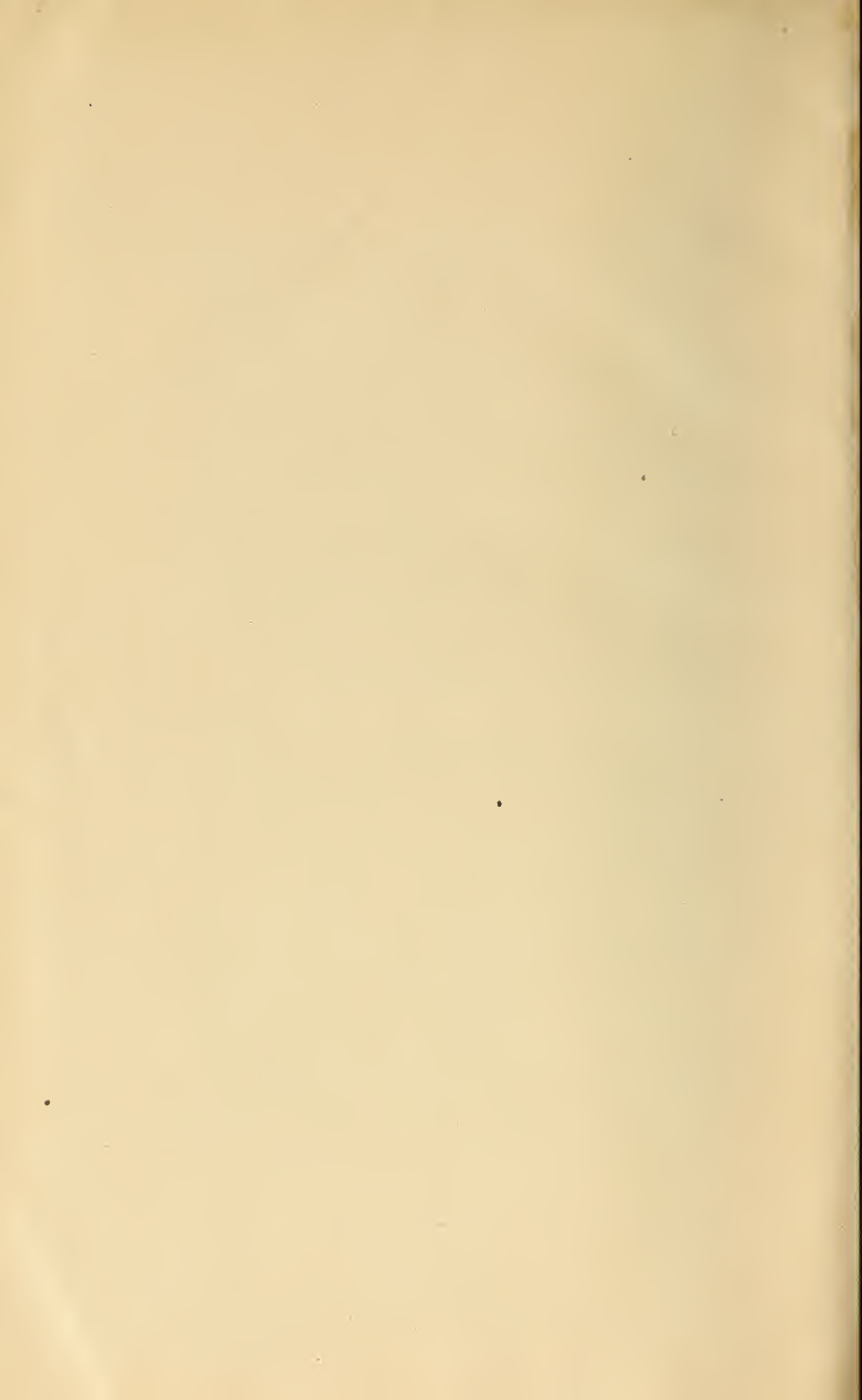
It may be further observed, that it is the awkward use of the word *namely* that makes it objectionable, and this probably first gave Lord Chesterfield a dislike to it; but the sentence in Mr. Stanhope's letter is very little improved by the alteration.

"*You inform me of a very agreeable piece of news, namely, that my election is secured.*" Instead of *namely* "writes Lord Chesterfield," I would always use "which is" or "that is."

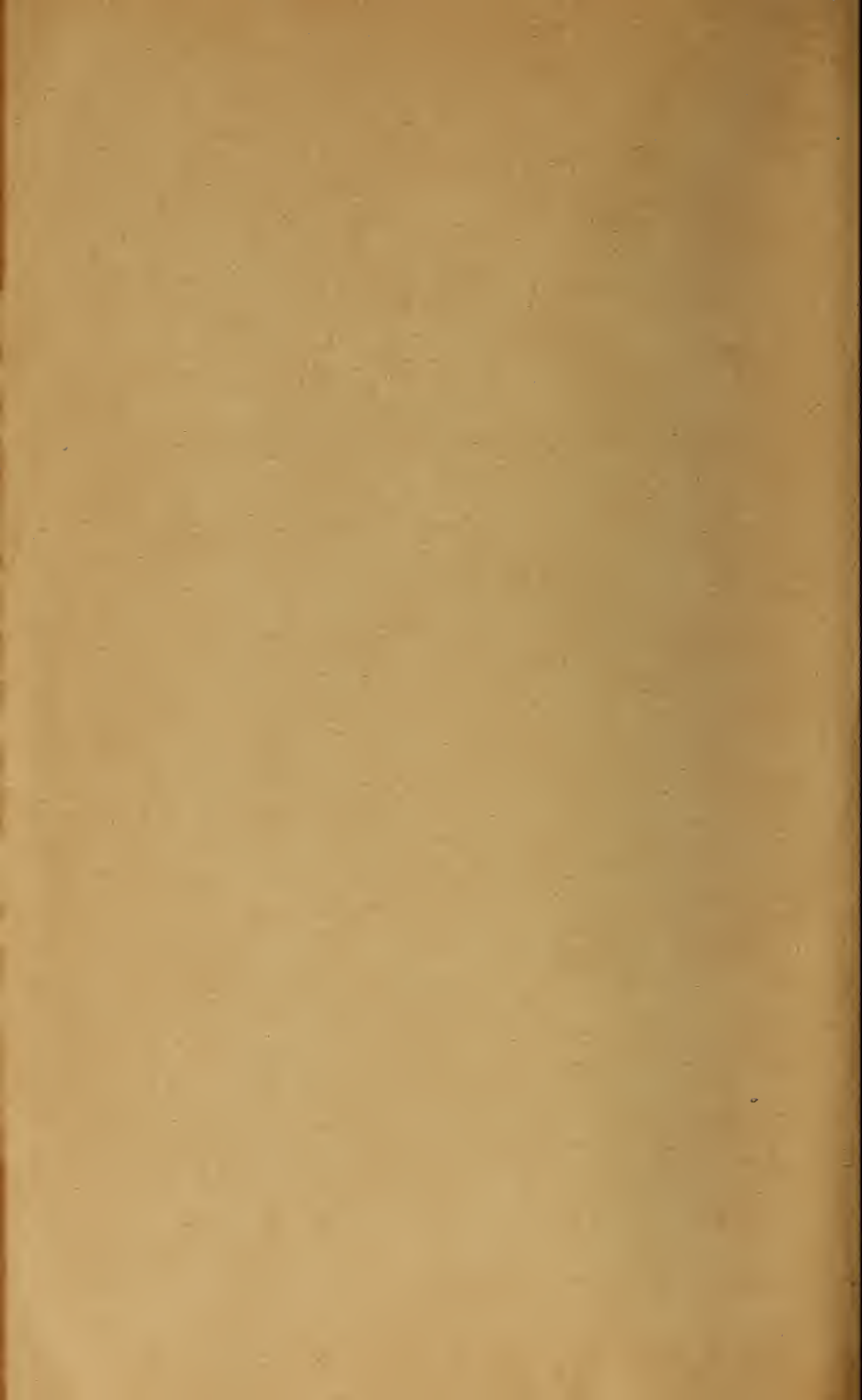
To a philologist this peculiarity will have some weight, and on that account deserves to be recorded among the FACTS in this inquiry.

Any one who has attentively read Lord Chesterfield's speeches and writings (more particularly those of the period of the great Walpolean Battles), will find that the *doctrines* and *opinions* of Junius are merely a *repetition* of the *maxims* and *sentiments* of Lord Chesterfield. On every great constitutional question they are the same; nor does the language of Junius differ from the well-known ironical style of Chesterfield, except in the bitterness of its sarcasm, and in those peculiarities which are always observable in laboured compositions. Junius was conscious of this, and withheld his popular signature from those letters that were not written *in the style of Junius*. The miscellaneous letters, therefore, approach more nearly to Lord Chesterfield's manner of writing, with the exception of that want of freedom which the fear of detection will always produce in an anonymous libeller.

It would be useless to extend these proofs, for every sentence in the four letters of *Atticus* breathes the spirit of Lord Chesterfield. They may be said to contain an epitome of his lordship's opinions on the policy of government and the financial resources of GREAT BRITAIN.







LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 020 661 503 5